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The Museum of Augustus

The Temple of Apollo in Pompeii, The Portico of Philippus, and Roman Poetry

Peter Heslin

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Generalizations as expansive as these: that there is a universal poetry that is reflected in everything or that there may be a fundamental aesthetic of which poetry and painting are related but dissimilar manifestations, are speculative. One is better satisfied by particulars.

Wallace Stevens, *The Necessary Angel*

For Gracie (this one has pictures).

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It will be interesting to see how the present-day demand of the UK government for all publicly funded research to be published in an open-access format such as this one can be squared with the insistence by many publicly funded museums, libraries and archives that they control the reproduction of objects in their collections and with their usual refusal to grant non-time-limited permission to include digital reproductions in on-line scholarly publications.

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Acknowledgements

This book is a product of the digital revolution which is transforming the study of the material culture of antiquity. Literary scholars have always been able to carry copies of their texts around in their pockets, but up until recently art historians have needed to rely on having direct physical access to archives, collections and specialized libraries, and on possessing an acute visual memory. Now, however, the Internet provides instant access to a multitude of images of ancient artifacts, to scans of expensive and rare books, and even to many archival documents. Images can be stored and manipulated on a computer so that working with objects no longer needs to be much more inconvenient than working with texts. The recent so-called "material turn" in the humanities is in part a response to this explosion of access to visual evidence. Whatever one thinks of the consequences of the opening of the study of material culture so suddenly to a wider range of non-specialists, my experience has been that art historians and archaeologists have been very welcoming and generous with their expertise to an author such as myself coming from a background as a literary critic. Whether the interpretations advanced in this book are right or wrong, it is surely remarkable that a newcomer to this material has been able to discover new images of genuine importance to the reception of Homer in Roman Italy without leaving his office and using only a web browser.

Most of the research for this book was thus done on-line rather than in museums, sites and archives. I could not have written it without access to a wide range of digital resources and I am very grateful to those pioneers who have taken the risk of investing their time and money in assembling these resources for the study of visual culture in antiquity, and also to those rights-holders who have understood that digital access is an opportunity rather than a threat. One hopes that more cautious institutions will soon follow suit. In particular, I wish to thank the people behind the following projects, which were essential to my research:

- *Bibliothèque numérique*, Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (`http://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr`).
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- *Pompeii in Pictures* (`www.pompeiiinpictures.com`).
- *Gallica*, Bibliothèque nationale de France (`http://gallica.bnf.fr`).
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- *Digital Library for the Decorative Arts and Material Culture*, University of Wisconsin-Madison (`http://decorativearts.library.wisc.edu`).
- *Cat'zArts*, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts (`http://www.ensba.fr/ow2/catzarts/index.xsp`).
- *Blogging Pompeii* (`http://bloggingpompeii.blogspot.co.uk`).

Introduction: Methodology and Zeuxis' *Helen*

This book is about three temples, each of them surrounded by a portico decorated with a cycle of paintings representing the Trojan War: two are real temples, one in Rome and one in Pompeii; the third is fictional. The imaginary temple is the most famous of the three. In the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, the hero Aeneas arrives in Dido's newly founded city of Carthage. He enters the temple dedicated to the city's patron goddess, Juno, and in its portico he sees there a series of paintings depicting the Trojan War.[1] This precipitates a tearful and intense emotional response as Aeneas sees his own experiences transformed into art. He reads (or misreads) the artwork as promising that the inhabitants of the city will be sympathetic to his people's suffering.[2] By showing us so early in his epic an example of an intense emotional response to a work of art depicting the Trojan story, Virgil gives us a key to how we are to read his own poem, which is a depiction in words of a different part of that same story. He also, perhaps, gives us a model for the perils of misreading it.[3]

A few years later, the people of Pompeii decorated the portico of their Temple of Apollo in a similar fashion, with scenes from the Trojan War. This coincidence has been remarked upon before; for example, Sandbach says:[4]

> Virgil does not specifically say where Aeneas found the pictures of the Trojan War which brought him comfort, but they seem to be *in luco* [1.450] and *sub ingenti templo* [1.453]. A Roman could hardly help applying his own experiences and imagining them as a colonnade enclosing the sanctuary; this was pointed out already by Heyne. By a strange chance paintings (now lost) of Trojan scenes were found at Pompeii on the walls of the colonnade of Apollo's temple there.

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[1] For the position of the images in the sanctuary and their visual medium, see the detailed discussion of Virgil's language in Chapter 6.

[2] "What, precisely, is Aeneas so happy about?" Johnson 1976, 99–105; "It is a touching mistake by Aeneas," Barchiesi 1999, 336; for a full discussion, see Putnam 1998, 23–54.

[3] For the diversity of approaches in Virgilian scholarship to Aeneas' misreading, see the bibliography cited by Fowler 1991, 32, n. 45.

[4] Sandbach 1965–6, 29. For Heyne's identification of paintings in a portico rather than sculptures, see his 15th excursus on Book 1 of the *Aeneid* as printed by Wagner 1830–41, vol.2, 247–8. Sandbach's observation is cited by Austin 1971, ad 1.456, who makes a further connection to the Portico of Philippus.

This book sets out to explore the circumstances of that "strange chance". In fact, the paintings have not been completely lost. Some aspects have long been fairly well known to a specialist audience, and in a recent book surveying the subject of ancient temple painting, E. Moormann usefully sets out what has traditionally been known of the decoration of the Pompeian temple portico.[5] He briefly considers the possibility of a link between Virgil's imaginary temple and the real one in Pompeii, but dismisses it. Like Sandbach, he is at a loss to make much more of the possibility, in part because the evidence available to them was not very extensive or suggestive. The first four chapters of this book are devoted to extending considerably our knowledge of the Trojan paintings which decorated this temple. Our exploration of the hermeneutic questions surrounding the identification of scenes and figures in the Pompeian portico will help to open up some of the ambiguities of Virgil's account.

The third portico which this book discusses is the least well-known of the three. The Portico of Philippus was built by a very close relative of the Roman emperor Augustus, but nothing of it remains standing. We are told by a later source that in this temple portico there was, yet again, a series of paintings depicting the Trojan War. It is generally passed over without comment in studies of the massive building program of that emperor, under the assumption that it was a minor work of a minor imperial hanger-on. In fact, the evidence suggests that it amounted to a complete remodeling of Rome's *de facto* Temple of the Muses, or Museum. It would seem, then, to be the perfect point at which to test whether there was a connection between the poetic and architectural patronage of the regime. In fact, there has been a recent explosion of scholarly interest in the building which the Portico of Philippus surrounded and recontextualized: the Republican Temple of Hercules of the Muses. It is now widely agreed that there was an important symmetry between the patronage of Fulvius Nobilior in constructing the temple and decorating it (probably) with a copy of the Roman list of annual magistrates (the *fasti*) and his patronage of the poet Ennius, author of Rome's first hexameter epic, the *Annales*, which detailed in similarly annual fashion the exploits of those magistrates. The extent of Augustus' patronage of poetry via his minister, Maecenas, far exceeded anything in Republican Rome and was obviously inspired by the practices of the Ptolemies of Alexandria. But he could never admit to that, so it was crucial for him to invoke the Roman precedent of Fulvius Nobilior, as Chapter 5 will make clear. Thus it is no coincidence that the decorative scheme of the Portico of Philippus articulated precisely the same relationship to the *Aeneid* as existed between Fulvius' temple and the *Annales*. The Portico of Philippus is the public justification in the language of Roman architecture of Augustus' patronage of poetry; it is his Romanization of the Museum of Alexandria.

The potential connections between these three Augustan temple porticoes have

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[5] Moormann 2011.

been noted in passing often enough before. What makes this book different is that it brings to bear a large mass of new evidence for reconstructing the Pompeian portico. It turns out that a great deal more can be established beyond the prior state of research as illustrated in Moormann's general survey. We will discover that there are more Trojan images which can be attributed to it than were previously known, and, crucially, that many of these can, for the first time, be situated in precise locations on the walls. This in turn permits us to show that a number of the traditional identifications of subjects of those images are mistaken. So, for example, it turns out that Aeneas was a prominent figure in the Pompeian portico, which will reinforce the suspicion that there is a link between it and the imaginary temple of the *Aeneid*. The huge popularity of Virgil in Pompeii is attested by the frequency with which quotations appear in graffiti. [6] By contrast, there is only a single painting in the town which is certain to depict a scene from the *Aeneid*, so the conclusion has been drawn that Latin poetry did not have much impact on Roman painting.[7] And yet the oldest and perhaps the most prestigious cult sanctuary in the town was remodeled in a way that is strikingly reminiscent of an imaginary building in Virgil's poem. Perhaps in looking for fleas we have omitted to notice the dog. The subjects of the individual paintings in the temple are Homeric, but the installation as a whole is Virgilian. Moreover, the paintings in that sanctuary display, as we will discover, a special interest in the figure of Aeneas. The importance of this pictorial cycle for the townspeople of Pompeii is attested by the frequency with which they copied images from it for use in their domestic spaces. It may be that the people of Pompeii employed an iconographical vocabulary that remained firmly Greek, but they combined those elements to create a Roman visual language, which surely was influenced by the Latin poetry they were reading and scribbling onto those same walls. To put it in terms borrowed from Norman Bryson, the denotative elements in Roman painting were almost exclusively Greek, but the connotative dimension was often Roman.[8]

Images of the Trojan War were, of course, ubiquitous in the Greek and Roman world, both in and out of porticoes. The distant ancestor of the Roman painted portico, the *Stoa Poikile* in Athens, included a painting of Ajax and Cassandra after the fall of Troy by Polygnotus. The same artist made the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi famous for his paintings of the sack of Troy and of Odysseus in the underworld.[9] Homeric paintings were equally popular in the Roman world. Pompeii offers several examples of extensive Iliadic friezes in domestic contexts, both painted and relief. Vitruvius recommends Trojan themes for galleries and, in the city of Rome, the fresco known as the "Odyssey Landscapes" was fitted with a framing device that represents the pictures as if being seen from a portico. Petron-

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[6] Hoogma 1959.
[7] Thus Wallace-Hadrill 1983.
[8] Bryson 1983.
[9] Pausanias 1.15.2 and 10.25–31.

ius testifies to the popularity of such scenes by attributing to his grotesque fictional creation Trimalchio a particular taste for painted Homeric subjects.[10] Despite this evidently widespread distribution of Homeric paintings in the Roman world, the three monuments dealt with in this book are distinctive and different: they all feature a cycle of discrete panel paintings which narrate the Trojan War and which are mounted as a series in a temple portico. This is what the painted plaster of the Pompeian portico imitates, and this is what Virgil, as we will see, visualizes in his imaginary Carthage. Furthermore, our discussion of the dating of these monuments will show that all three of them, real and imaginary, were created within a span of about 20 years: between 29 and 10 BC. It does not look like a coincidence.

It will not be possible to prove in absolute terms that there was a connection between these three porticoes, since direct visual evidence from the Portico of Philippus, which was the bridge between the other two, is lacking. Nevertheless, we will see that circumstantial evidence for a link is very strong. This will be less surprising once we see just how important that Roman portico was in the ideological program of the first Roman emperor. In Latin poetry beyond the *Aeneid*, we can trace other responses to the Portico of Philippus as the new Roman home of the Muses, a matter of concern to all poets, not just writers of Trojan epic, since it was also the headquarters of Rome's guild of writers and poets. We will therefore examine in Chapter 6 not only the relationship of the *Aeneid* to this architectural project, but also the ways in which a variety of Roman writers, including Horace, Propertius, Ovid and Petronius, responded to that relationship.

In order to explore the links between these three porticoes, it will be necessary to answer a large number of technical questions. How reliable are the 19th-century sources for lost Pompeian artworks? Can they tell us what paintings were mounted in which places in the Pompeian portico? What is the correct date for its construction relative to the Hellenistic Temple of Apollo it surrounded? What is the pre- and post-earthquake chronology of its painted decoration? What was its meaning in its local context and what was its impact upon domestic decoration? Moving to Rome, what can we reconstruct of the layout of the Portico of Philippus? How extensive were the renovations of the Temple of Hercules Musarum within it? What was its ideological function in its historical context? Where did its Trojan panel paintings come from? What was the building used for? These questions of an historical, archaeological and art historical nature regarding the reconstruction of the Pompeian and Roman porticoes and their relationship will be addressed as they come up in the course of rest of the book. But before proceeding any further we must address a set of major methodological issues which attend the introduction into this mix of Virgil's imaginary, textual portico.

Does the Pompeian temple respond to Virgil's text? Does the Virgilian text re-

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[10] On the Pompeian cycles, see Spinazzola 1953; on the Odyssey Landscapes, see O'Sullivan 2007; see also Vitruvius 7.5.2, and Petronius, *Satyricon* 29.9.

spond to the Roman temple? Does the text of the *Aeneid* mediate the response of the post-Virgilian Pompeian monument to the pre-Vergilian Roman one? When Virgil's first Roman readers encountered his text, were they supposed to think, in part, of the Roman temple's decorative program and its relationship to the new ideology of Augustus? Did Virgil's provincial readers have the same or a different experience when they encountered a local version of this type of monument? Does the popularity of images from this Trojan cycle in domestic contexts in Pompeii reflect the impact of the local monument, of the Hellenistic originals displayed in the metropolitan monument, of Virgil's text or all of the above? These questions all have to do with two areas which have always been and continue to be of enormous methodological controversy: the relationship between images and texts in antiquity and the relationship between "copies" and "originals" in Roman art. Those two questions are related in that both are driven by a sense that scholarship has been distorted by parallel prejudices: on the one hand, the dismissal by traditional, classical philologists of classical art as mere illustration of textual master-narratives and, on the other, the dismissal of Roman art as entirely derivative by traditional, classical art historians.

The rehabilitation of the phenomenon of the copying of Greek models in Roman art has been led by the work of Tonio Hölscher in demonstrating that the Romans used the whole range of Greek art as a palette of styles from which they chose quite deliberately and from which they created a language for articulating their own concerns.[11] This work is of fundamental importance but it does leave one class of phenomena unaddressed. In Campanian painting there are many examples of copying not on the level of style but of particular figural compositions. The temptation has always been to see these commonalities as being due to their status as "copies" of Greek masterpieces. The old idea of domestic paintings reproducing Greek "old masters" has been slow to die despite the complete absence of evidence for the practice. In Chapter 4, I will try to drive another nail in the coffin, by, for example, giving a better explanation for the proliferation at Pompeii of the same scene of the discovery of Achilles at the palace of Lycomedes. The traditional explanation has been to link this with Pliny's description of a famous Hellenistic painting. In fact, a better explanation is that these are domestic copies of a painting which was found in the portico of the local Temple of Apollo, which in turn had painted plaster copies of a particular series of Hellenistic panel paintings which hung in the Portico of Philippus in Rome.

In other words, there is indeed a Hellenistic painting behind the proliferation of Pompeian copies, but not because local householders wanted copies of "old masters" and not because journeyman painters had to work mechanically from pattern books filled with such compositions. At first glance, this approach may not seem like such a win for the cause of rehabilitating Roman art from the charge

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[11] Hölscher 2004.

of being dull and derivative. Does it help matters to see domestic paintings as copies of local models rather than of distant, transcendent Hellenistic originals? In fact, it does, because it permits us to understand the intertextual dynamics at play in such acts of quotation and reappropriation. The evidence under review in this book offers a very special opportunity to examine how copying works, because the same compositions appear both in an important public context and in a variety of domestic contexts (both indoor and outdoor). Furthermore, very similar compositions of the same figures appear on the *tabulae Iliacae*, which come from the neighborhood of Rome. This suggests a metropolitan model, and hence a further level of copying. This is therefore a particularly rich locus for examining how the copying of figural compositions worked in a Roman context.

I will offer in Chapter 4 a model of intertextuality in Campanian figural painting in which it is not the style that speaks, as for Hölscher, but the content. Far from being derivative, this aspect permits us to infer from each instance of copying its full cultural significance. First Rome appropriates a set of Hellenistic panel paintings of the Trojan War and gives them a completely new meaning in the context of the emerging ideology of the emperor Augustus. Then the leading men of the city of Pompeii put a new portico around their old Temple of Apollo and advertise the particular, local nature of their alignment with the emperor and his patron god by decorating their portico in a way that recalled the Roman monument and its meaning. Then the same compositions appear in domestic contexts in Pompeii, where they have a wide array of meanings, from the erudite display of learning in the atrium of the House of the Tragic Poet to the whimsy of the mosaics on the garden building in the House of Apollo. The answer to the charge of banal copying in Roman art is intertextuality: a theory of reappropriation of cultural artifacts which describes the meaning created by the dialogue between the context(s) of the original(s) and the new context. When the owner of the House of Apollo decorated his tiny refuge from the hustle and bustle of the house at the bottom of the garden he or she was probably thinking most immediately of the local Temple of Apollo, but also, perhaps, of the Portico of Philippus in Rome and the Temple of Juno in Virgil's Carthage. The more layers of context we bring into view, the clearer becomes the mock-epic character of the building and the better we can appreciate the wit of the joke.

Futher details of this discussion of the issue of copies and models in Campanian figural painting will be deferred until Chapter 4, which is largely devoted to the subject of copying, or to put it more usefully, to the subject of visual intertextuality, in Pompeii. But the issue of the relationship of art and text is so broad, so controversial and so fundamental to the subject of this book and that it needs to be addressed in more detail at the very outset. The very act of putting Virgil's fictional temple portico in the same book as a discussion of two real porticoes might be seen as evidence of an inability to distinguish the properties of the material from the textual, the real from the imaginary. Once again, the way forward is via a

theory of intertextuality, but this time across the divide between texts and images. Viewers of the Pompeian temple portico would have experienced it in the light of their viewing of previous paintings and monuments but also in the light of their experience of the texts of both Homer and Virgil. Conversely, ancient readers of the *Aeneid* would have brought to that text their knowledge not only of Homer, but also of the myriad visual representations of the Trojan War that surrounded them. The key to developing intertextual strategies of relating art and text will be, of course, to avoid subordinating one to the other, a problem which has a long history.

Text and Image: An Uneasy Marriage

There are two opposing tendencies in the study of art and text in antiquity: firstly, to separate them into "parallel worlds" of distinct discourses, and secondly to see them as mutually complementary ways of framing the identical subject matter of myth and history. As with most such binarisms, there is much to be said for both ways of looking at the relationship, and controversies are often really just a matter of emphasis. It is undoubtedly true that visual and textual works require completely different modes of reading and that, in order for a visual artifact to be legible, the viewer must situate it within a realm of iconographical parallels and visual cues that are quite separate from what one might have learned from texts. On the other hand, it should be equally obvious that an ancient audience did not experience visual art in isolation from whatever it knew from texts, either through reading or orally, about the figures represented there.

The study of antiquity has a long history of treating visual art dismissively as if it were nothing more than mere illustrations of the master narrative embodied in the text. Some readers may therefore be wary of a book that professes to treat once again the relationship between mere painted plaster and two poems which were the most canonical texts of the Greco-Roman world. But this can be done without subordinating the images to those texts. Many of the readings I offer will suggest that the paintings took a playful, and occasionally even a critical, posture toward the epic tradition. When we isolate art from texts, we deprive ourselves of the opportunity to appreciate this playful intertextuality. The urge to separate art from text in order to give visual works space to be appreciated in their own right as autonomous objects has been motivated by noble intentions and has been a reaction to the particular philological bias of the study of Classics. Today, however, it should be possible to discuss questions of inter-media intertextuality without being accused automatically of blindly imposing a retrograde and old-fashioned philological world view.

The tendency to isolate art from text does not only apply to the study of material artifacts; it has also affected the study of texts. In recent years, there has been an explosion of interest in ecphrasis, which in this book I use in the narrow sense

of the rhetorical figure whereby a visual work of art is described within a poem. As is well known, one of the usual functions of this trope is to provide a meta-commentary on the surrounding text. By embedding a description of a work of art in its texture, verbal narrative turns a mirror on its own mimetic strategies. It therefore corresponds not to some real, visual object external to the world of the text but to the text itself. The ur-ecphrasis in classical culture is, of course, the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*. Its description occupies nearly a whole book of the epic and it quite obviously is not meant to describe a "real" shield. It is an ideal object, and in some ways an impossible one.[12] Scholarship has reacted strongly against the tendency in previous generations to treat ecphrasis naively, as if its point were to describe a real object as accurately as possible.[13] For this reason, many recent discussions of ecphrasis have emphasized that it cannot, by its nature, have any relation to a particular, real object. For such critics, the present book might seem to be making a fundamental category error in confounding the fictional world of Virgil's Carthage and the real world of Rome. As Barchiesi says, quite reasonably, "there is no reason to suspect that Virgil attempts to describe actual artifacts in any of these passages".[14] But this objection is something of a red herring: I doubt that anyone would be so naive as to make the claim that Virgil was describing real objects in his ecphrases, which form part of a distant, heroic, fictional world. The more interesting question is whether he might have alluded, in the spirit of intertextuality, to famous objects in the real, Roman world, just as he alluded to texts well known to his audience.

To give a recent example of the excessive concern to isolate ecphrasis from real objects, we can quote from a review of a recent book by Dufallo, *The Captor's Image: Greek Culture in Roman Ecphrasis*. Discussing a particular chapter, Elsner makes an objection to linking literary and real temples in Augustan Rome:[15]

> The focus is on temples, rather than statues, at the opening of *Georgics* 3.13-36 and in the temple of Phoebus at Propertius 2.31. My one hesitancy here is Dufallo's keenness to read these complexes in relation to Augustus' Palatine temple of Apollo; he is of course right that the context of this monument is significant, but it is surely reductive to tie a fictional and hence deliberately open ecphrastic account too narrowly to a specific monument, known to us only through fragmentary archaeology and much speculation.

That proviso of "too narrowly" is self-evidently reasonable; but in reality Dufallo is not doing anything excessive or out of the ordinary here. Propertius presents his poem as a description not of a fictional, poetic monument but of the very real,

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[12] Though this, of course, did not dissuade artists from representing it; for some examples, see P. R. Hardie 1985 and Squire 2011, 305–24.

[13] See, for example, Bryson 1994 on Philostratus' *Imagines* and Squire 2011, 337–49 on the shield of Achilles.

[14] Barchiesi 1997c, 271.

[15] Elsner 2013.

recently completed, portico around Augustus' new Temple of Apollo. This is not to say that his description of that monument is unbiased or lacking in tendentiousness – far from it; but he does present it as a genuine description of a real object and the poem cannot be understood in isolation from it.[16] The meagerness of the archaeological evidence for the temple does not change that fact. Virgil's temple in *Georgics* 3 is different. It is a clearly imaginary temple, located in his home town of Mantua, but generations of scholars have associated it, on account of its gleaming marble and aspects of its iconography, with the Temple of Palatine Apollo in Rome.[17] I happen to agree with Elsner here that it is reductive to equate these two monuments, but that is because the Palatine parallel leaves many features of the appearance of Virgil's imaginary Mantuan temple unexplained. I will argue in Chapter 6 below that Virgil is mingling the Portico of Philippus with the Palatine temple, which is a consequence of the unified ideological function of these two buildings. I do not agree, however, that it is automatically a reductive gesture to link an imaginary Augustan temple with a real one (or two), provided that the link is made in the spirit of intertextuality rather than of description. Elsner himself has been a leader in the integration of textual in visual approaches to Roman culture and has written eloquently of the need to give play to both text and image in the study of ecphrasis. As he says: "Bringing to mind the described object with *enargeia* required listeners or readers to have sufficient familiarity with the kinds of art that were the subjects of ekphrasis."[18] The question is whether, in some cases, the audience is expected to have familiarity with something more particular than merely a "kind of art": a specific visual intertext rather than a genre. In his own work, Elsner has put literary ecphrasis in bold juxtaposition, if not frank dialogue, with specific works of visual art; but even this is too much for some art historians.[19] Objections seem to arise when one connects an ecphrasis not merely with the visual in general or with a kind of visual art but with a specific, real object. Does an allusive, intertextual link between an ecphrasis and one particular, famous artifact necessarily collapse the text into mere description and drown out the voice of the artifact itself?

The current ecphrastic orthodoxy may derive from the specific nature of Homer's description of the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*, and the limitations of that theoretical model can be demonstrated by the way Virgil modifies Homer's practice. After Homer's extensive exposition of the shield, its new owner, Achilles, has no interest in reading its images. He takes a quick, appreciative look but does not respond in detail to the decoration; he is consumed with anger and simply wants to use it as

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[16] On the dangers of overstating the difference between "notional" ecphrasis of fictive objects and "authentic" descriptions of real objects, see Squire 2009, 145–6; on Propertius' "blurring the difference between objects and representations of objects" in this poem, see Laird 1996, 85.

[17] For a thorough account, see S. Lundström 1976.

[18] Elsner 2002, 15, and see amplification by Squire 2009, 145.

[19] See Elsner 2007, 67–109 and the response of Kampen 2009.

an implement with which to avenge Patroclus (19.15–20). Virgil makes a small but crucial change when he adapts this scene in the *Aeneid*. After the extended description of Aeneas' new shield, Virgil says that the hero gazed in wonder and appreciation at it, but stipulates that he was unable to understand it (8.729–31). In other words, Aeneas' failure to engage with the ecphrasis is modeled upon Achilles' reaction, but with this difference: his total lack of an intellectual or emotional response is explicitly justified not in terms of angry impatience or a lack of interest, as might be presumed in the case of Achilles, but on the grounds of the object's unintelligibility within the story. Without the reader's foreknowledge of the future narratives of Roman history, the images on the shield are totally mute. Aeneas' lack of prescience contrasts strongly with his firm knowledge of his own past that he calls upon when reading the images in the Temple of Juno in Carthage. There, he seems to be an authoritative interpreter, since he knows the story of the fall of Troy, as opposed to the rise of Rome, all too well. Or is he authoritative? His interpretation of those images has a strongly pro-Trojan and anti-Greek bias, which may or may not be how the people of Carthage intended them.

Since the legibility of the Temple of Juno for Aeneas contrasts so strongly with the way neither Achilles nor Aeneas read their own shields, it seems wrong to insist that the temple must belong to the same category of ecphrasis. The temple is not an impossibly dense object, *non ennarrabile textum* (8.625), like the Homeric and Virgilian shields.[20] Given the allusive interplay between Virgil and the Greek poems from the epic cycle which described the episodes from the Trojan War depicted in the fictional paintings, why should we not bring to bear our knowledge of well-known paintings of those events as well as textual versions? Virgil, in fact, encourages us to do this by another important way in which the ecphrasis of Juno's temple contrasts with the shield of Aeneas. The shield is given an orderly, comprehensive and objective catalog of its contents for our benefit, but the temple ecphrasis is none of those things. Instead, we get an account of Aeneas' tearful and impulsive emotional reactions to a disordered and incomplete set of images. The account is so strongly focalized through his viewpoint that we seem to have no access of our own to the reality of the temple's decoration. This is the opposite of the situation with the shield, where we know and understand more than Aeneas does.

Virgil divides ecphrasis into subjective and objective varieties which demand different strategies for reading and which may call for different levels of engagement with our knowledge of real monuments. Objective ecphrasis is textually self-sufficient, but subjective ecphrasis depends in part on the reader supplying knowledge from outside the text, to fill in a sense of what it is that the internal viewer is responding to. The subjectivity, disorder and incompleteness of the Carthage

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[20] On the phrase, see Putnam 1998, 187–8. On the impossibility of the shield of Aeneas, see Heinze 1993, 313 and Eden 1975, *ad* 8.634. For a more optimistic view, see D. A. West 1990, 337–8.

ecphrasis invites us to fill in the empty spaces and construct our own sense of the temple. In so doing, we would naturally call upon our knowledge of temples with similar decorative programs. By encouraging us to compare his hero's reaction to a fictional temple portico with his our own reaction to a similar program of decoration in a recently constructed building in Rome, Virgil makes us aware of the possibility that Aeneas' identifications and interpretations may not be completely reliable. To reiterate, this is not to reduce the ecphrasis to an account of the real portico; rather, introducing a material intertext increases the polysemy of Virgil's text.

Scholarly wariness in keeping ecphrastic texts separate from real artifacts and the desire to protect the autonomy of visual narratives from the tyranny of the text are both rooted in a fear of reductive philological readings of artifacts as mere illustrations of canonical, authoritative texts. But there is a cost to this intertextual apartheid for both objects and texts. In this book I hope to show that, just as an awareness of real Trojan temple porticoes can help to unlock important ambiguities in Virgil's account of Aeneas' reaction to a fictional portico, Trojan images from Pompeii and elsewhere in Roman Campania can often benefit greatly from being considered as witty and sophisticated commentaries on Homeric and Virgilian texts. Fortunately, a powerful argument against this "apartheid" in the study of ancient art and text has recently been made in an important book by Michael Squire.[21] It should be clear that I wholeheartedly endorse Squire's call for a return to joining up the study of art and text and that I would like to present this book as a contribution to that project. Squire gives a compelling account of the bias against the visual and in favor of the verbal in the modern German intellectual tradition which influenced the philological study of the ancient world so decisively. Squire's emphasis on the modern oppression of image by text leaves a small gap in the narrative, however, which is crucial for the argument of this book. As a result, I will spend more time in the next few pages discussing this very small point where I disagree with Squire than the much larger areas on which we agree entirely.

The problem with focussing on the tyranny of what Squire calls "Protestant art history" is that one can document the denigration of the visual in most branches of the western intellectual tradition.[22] This points to a deeper root than Martin Luther; iconoclasm and logocentrism have long histories before the Reformation. Ultimately, the distrust of visual mimesis in Western thought goes back at least to Plato. Of course, Squire knows all of this, but his choice of emphasis tends to leave the reader with a picture of antiquity as a prelapsarian paradise in which images were free from textual oppression.[23] For our purposes, however, it will be crucial to see how this conflict between the visual and the verbal extends back into

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[21] See Squire 2009, 96.

[22] For a well-known example, see Jay 1993 on this theme in twentieth-century French philosophy.

[23] Squire 2009, 117–20 prefers to emphasize the side of Plato that valorized vision and beauty rather than the side which was hostile to mimesis and matter.

antiquity. This is because the Portico of Philippus was the forum in which the tension between poetry and the plastic arts played out, quite self-consciously, in Augustan Rome.

In order to see just how strong the impulse to denigrate the plastic arts could be in some corners of antiquity, it will be useful to review an anecdote surrounding one of the wonders of the ancient world, Pheidias' massive chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia. It is reported that when he was asked where he got his model for the statue, the artist said that he took his inspiration from a few lines of the *Iliad*: "The son of Cronos spoke, and bowed his dark brow in assent, and the ambrosial locks waved from the king's immortal head; and he made great Olympus quake" (1.528–30). This anecdote need not imply a particular hierarchical relationship between the media of poetry and sculpture; indeed, it is reported by the geographer Strabo (8.3.30) in quite neutral terms, with the sculptor simply referring to Homer as the canonical authority on the Greek gods. Another ancient author, however, used this anecdote as the starting-point for a denigration of the visual arts which is far more scornful and dismissive than anything in the writings of Martin Luther or G. E. Lessing on which Squire focusses his criticisms.[24] Dio Chrysostom delivered a speech at Olympia in front of Pheidias' statue in which he used the Homeric tag as the fulcrum of a long exploration of the insufficiency of the visual arts, particularly with respect to representing the divine (*Or* 12.49–83).

Dio takes the story of Pheidias' Homeric inspiration as an admission of the insufficiency of the visual arts in expressing the divine as compared to poetry. He imagines putting the (long dead) sculptor on the witness stand and compelling him to defend his masterpiece against the charge that it is an inadequate representation of the divine majesty of Zeus. In the speech he puts in the sculptor's mouth, "Pheidias" does not so much defend his work as a representation of divinity on its merits, but rather accepts the charge of its insufficiency without demurral; instead he takes the approach of blaming the poverty of his artistic medium. This fictional sculptor defends himself by claiming that he did the best he could to represent the divine with the meagre resources available to a visual artist. He contrasts the limitless ability of the poet to say anything his imagination fancies with the mute, lumpish, uncooperative materials with which the sculptor is forced to work. Most things that are possible with poetry are simply impossible to express with his materials. In the end, "Pheidias" is acquitted, but only because he has abased himself as a visual artist before the power of the word. What lies behind Dio's extraordinary gesture of contempt toward a supremely famous and venerable work of art that was considered a wonder of the world is not just sophistry and straining for paradox. Dio's view is rooted in a Platonic hierarchy of being and mimesis: words can approximate pure ideas, such as the divine, but visual art can only imitate dumb

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[24] Squire 2009, 101, n. 31 does mention this speech in a footnote though only to insist that Lessing did not know it.

objects and so it is doubly removed from the realm of truth.

Another amusing example of this attitude toward the visual arts can be found in the "Dream" of Lucian. In this pseudo-autobiographical narrative, the author tells us that his father had the idea of apprenticing him as a young man to his uncle, who was a sculptor, so that he could learn a profitable trade. Unfortunately, the narrator gets off to a bad start, for having been given a piece of marble to work, he struck too hard and shattered it. His uncle whips him and he huns home in disgrace. That night, he has a dream, in which two women appear to him and each attempts to win him over. The first is a personification of sculpture (Ἑρμογλυφικὴ τέχνη, 7); she is dirty, masculine and bears the signs of hard physical labor; she speaks like a barbarian. The other is a personification of education (Παιδεία, 9); she is beautiful, elegantly dressed and eloquent. She warns the narrator that as a sculptor, no matter how successful he might become, he would always be considered a lowly manual laborer, and she convinces him to follow her in the study of wisdom and eloquence toward a future of wealth and honor. There is an absolute contrast between the dull, dirty and mechanical trade of the sculptor and the godlike splendor of the orator who works with words and ideas. It was once believed that this tale was genuinely autobiographical and that Lucian came from a family of sculptors, but we need not be so naive. The fictitious incident in which the narrator shatters a block of marble clearly arises out of the same tradition found in the apology of Dio's Pheidias, where he blames the awkwardness and intractability of the sculptor's materials in contrast with the poet's. Here, the implicit contrast is with the raw materials of the rhetorician: words, which are characterized by their infinite malleability and plasticity.

So we see that contempt for the mimetic capabilities of material art already had a firm place in ancient thought.[25] But what of the other side of the debate? Are there any artists whom we can place in counterpoint to Dio's condescending prosopopoeia of Pheidias and Lucian's contemptuous personification of Sculpture? Would any visual artist in antiquity dare to suggest that his materials were equal to Homer's, or even in some respects superior? It happens that there is such a figure, the great painter Zeuxis, and the work in which he challenged the capabilities of Homer's art, his portrait of Helen, came to be put on display at Rome in the Portico of Philippus. This curatorial gesture indicates the self-consciousness with which that building was made the place in Augustan Rome where architecture, sculpture and painting came into dialogue with history and poetry, especially epic. The irony is that the correct interpretation of this painting as a vindication of the capabilities of the visual arts was first expressed by none other than Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in his *Laocoon*, a work which is nowadays viewed as one of the chief instruments of western logocentrism and its subjugation of the visual. So in order to explain how

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[25] Contrast Squire 2009, 96: "The *Laocoon*'s edict that the power of 'poetry' resides in its ability to envision content without visual form, and likewise that the weakness of 'painting' lies in its attempt to materialise non-visual content, is wholly alien to ancient thought and practice".

the present book fits into contemporary debates about the relationship between art and text, it will be necessary to take a closer look at Lessing's *Laocoon* and the way it has been reduced to a caricature in much recent scholarship.

Looking Again at Lessing

The *Laocoon* of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, an essay "on the limits of painting and poetry," is one the foundational texts for the study of art, and some art historians have never forgiven him for writing it. Lessing's central test case is, of course, the famous ancient sculptural group depicting the death of the Trojan priest Laocoon and his sons. He begins by contesting the earlier interpretation of that sculpture by J. J. Winckelmann, whom he claims gave insufficient respect to the particular virtues of Virgil's textual account of the same episode. Lessing then goes on to use this as the starting-point for his famous distinction between the textual, which has the ability to represent ideas and duration in time but can only represent the physical world indirectly, and the visual, which has a complementary set of strengths and weaknesses.[26]

The shout or groan of Laocoon, whose full articulation Virgil could represent and the sculptors allegedly could not, on account of both its temporal dimension and its incompatibility with the demands of physical beauty, has become synonymous with the limits of the plastic arts. Many of Lessing's modern readers are thus content to read him as a polemicist against the power of the visual.[27] And it is true that he shared the general Enlightenment bias toward canonical classical texts and saw himself as reasserting the priority of words over pictures, which he dubiously claimed had been lost.[28]

Given Lessing's polemical stance toward Winckelmann and others, his failure to distinguish between various physical media, his overriding concern with correcting literary practice so that it conformed to his own standards, and his fundamental lack of interest in visual art except as a foil for literature, it is not surprising that he has become something of a bête noire for art historians, just as he been an icon for those who admire him.[29] Despite Lessing's polemics and his total indifference to

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[26] For a concise account of the context of Lessing's response to Winckelmann, see Brilliant 2000, 50–8. It is often pointed out that Lessing only knew the *Laocoon* via engravings.

[27] See for example Squire 2009, 97–113, with references to previous literature.

[28] For the intellectual context of the *Laocoon*, see the wonderful essay by Gombrich 1957, who concludes that Lessing's real adversary was Corneille; his aim was to erect "a high fence along the frontiers between art and literature to confine the fashion of neo-classicism within the taste for the visual arts" (144).

[29] Among those admirers, Housman, who was Lessing's equal in appetite for polemics, expressed in his 1933 lecture on "The Name and Nature of Poetry" the view that Lessing was the only classical scholar in the space of several centuries worthy of being called a literary critic. Lessing would not, however, have accepted the title of scholar any more than Housman embraced that of literary critic: Gombrich 1957, 137.

actual works of visual art, it is unfair to rebuke him for failing to deliver a perfectly balanced assessment of the claims of the two kinds of media, for he was a playwright and a literary critic and, as Gombrich has pointed out, was not interested in material culture for its own sake but only as a tool to use against the sort of literature he did not like. Nevertheless, there is another, rarely remarked, aspect to Lessing's essay, where he speaks of the power of the visual and the corresponding limitations of words.

Lessing presents the power of the visual more obliquely, so it is easy to overlook it. An important example of this ungenerous approach comes from an article by Mitchell which has been widely influential on the contemporary negative view of Lessing.[30] The first half of that article is mainly an effort to disprove the universality of Lessing's distinction between the temporal dimension of texts and the spatial dimension of images.[31] The force of this demonstration is undermined by Lessing's prior admission of many of these very same exceptions, as Mitchell himself has to acknowledge.[32] As a critic, Lessing was a gadfly and the antithesis of the doctrinaire taxonomist which he has become in art historical demonology.[33] The second part of Mitchell's article develops a theory that Lessing's purported dichotomy assigns opposite sex-roles to the two media: that he assigns visual art to a subordinate, feminine position while privileging poetry as active, male and dominant. The force of this assertion is undermined by the fact that Lessing never says or implies anything remotely like this, as Mitchell again has to acknowledge.[34] This latter part of the article is based upon mere inferences from a passage in the *Laocoon* which Mitchell takes to be an "unguarded moment of free association" in which Lessing betrays his anxiety at a beautiful divine image obscenely adulterated by a monstrous phallic snake fetish which invites respectable women to dream of scandalous sexual unions. Mitchell completely misunderstands and misrepresents both the ancient anecdotes and what Lessing is trying to say with them here.[35]

Since this passage has been so misunderstood, and since it is an important witness to Lessing's respect for the power of images, it is worth taking a moment to examine it:[36]

> Aus diesem Gesichtspunkte glaube ich in gewissen alten Erzählungen, die man geradezu als Lügen verwirft, etwas Wahres zu erblicken. Den Müttern des Aristomenes, des Aristodamas, Alexanders des Großen, des Scipio, des Augustus, des Galerius, träumte in ihrer Schwangerschaft allen, als ob

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[30] Mitchell 1984; for its continuing influence, see Squire 2009, 105–7.

[31] On the oversimplification entailed in reducing Lessing to this distinction, see Sternberg 1999, 333–5.

[32] Mitchell 1984, 102.

[33] Gombrich 1957, 134.

[34] Mitchell 1984, 108.

[35] For the persistence of this misreading, see Squire 2009, 109–11, and for a particularly extreme version, see Gustafson 1993, 1091–2.

[36] *Laocoon*, Chapter 2: McCormick 1962, 14–15.

> sie mit einer Schlange zu tun hätten. Die Schlange war ein Zeichen der Gottheit; und die schönen Bildsäulen und Gemälde eines Bacchus, eines Apollo, eines Merkurius, eines Herkules, waren selten ohne eine Schlange. Die ehrlichen Weiber hatten des Tages ihre Augen an dem Gotte geweidet, und der verwirrende Traum erweckte das Bild des Tieres. So rette ich den Traum, und gebe die Auslegung preis, welche der Stolz ihrer Söhne und die Unverschämtheit des Schmeichlers davon machten. Denn eine Ursache mußte es wohl haben, warum die ehebrecherische Phantasie nur immer eine Schlange war.

> From this point of view I believe I can find some truth in some of the ancient tales which are generally rejected as outright lies. The mothers of Aristomenes, Aristodamas, of Alexander the Great, Scipio, Augustus, and Galerius all dreamed during pregnancy that they had relations with a serpent. The serpent was a symbol of divinity, and the beautiful statues and paintings depicting Bacchus, Apollo, Mercury, or Hercules were seldom without one. These honest mothers had feasted their eyes on the God during the day, and their confused dreams recalled the image of the reptile. Thus I save the dream and abandon the interpretation born of the pride of their sons and the impudence of the flatterer. For there must be some reason why the adulterous fantasy was always a serpent.

Lessing is saying that a god did not father those mighty sons, as the flattering versions of the stories claim, but that the mothers' dreams on the nights of conception were nonetheless true, though confused. During the day, each mother went to the temple of the respective god and viewed his statue, and "feasted her eyes" on its beauty. That night, while having intercourse with her less-than-godlike-husband, she kept an image in her mind not of him but of the god she had been gazing at during the day. Her dream preserved a confused memory of her fixation on the image of the statue during intercourse. Instead of the whole statue, her dream recalled only the snake that was a part of the statue. The greatness of character exhibited by Alexander, Augustus and the others was due to the power of the image of the divine statue in the mind of their mothers during their conception. This is an extraordinary thing to say – statuary is stronger than semen – and it is not surprising it has been misunderstood. Naturally, Lessing had to veil his meaning in a certain amount of circumlocution, but he is simply explaining the sexual mechanism by which beautiful art produces beautiful men and the inverse, as he had just finished saying:[37]

> Erzeugten schöne Menschen schöne Bildsäulen, so wirkten diese hinwiederum auf jene zurück, und der Staat hatte schönen Bildsäulen schöne Menschen mit zu verdanken. Bei uns scheinet sich die zarte Einbildungskraft der Mütter nur in Ungeheuern zu äußern.

> If beautiful men created beautiful statues, these statues in turn affected the men, and thus the state owed thanks also to beautiful statues for beauti-

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[37] McCormick 1962, 14.

ful men. (With us the highly susceptible imagination of mothers seems to express itself only in producing monsters.)

The erroneous presumption that Lessing always and automatically privileged writing over painting accounts for the misinterpretation of his startling statement of the power of images in human reproduction.[38] It also accounts for the neglect by critics of one of the most important parts of his treatise. In addition to that startling account of the power of the visual at the moment of conception, Lessing also spends a large part of his essay dealing with an area in which painting was far more powerful than poetry: the representation of physical beauty. For Lessing the greatness of a poet is revealed in the way he finessed this inherent weakness of his medium. Just as the mute and immobile statue of Laocoon and his sons exemplified the limits of the plastic arts in comparison with Virgil's narrative, so Lessing adduces again and again a particular work of ancient art which he produces to exemplify the opposite: Zeuxis' *Helen*. It functions in the treatise as the inverse of the *Laocoon* statue, his anti-*Laocoon*, marking out the limitations of poetry and its inability to venture into the territory where painting reigns supreme. Ironically, this Greek painting only survives as a textual description; or perhaps that is more natural than ironic, given Lessing's near-total lack of interest in actual, surviving ancient art. Like the *Laocoon*, this painting is of a Trojan subject. In this case, the textual point of comparison is not Virgil but Homer. As we will see, Zeuxis' *Helen* was a painting that accumulated anecdotes; stories were told about it by many Greek and Latin authors.[39]

The particular anecdote which is crucial for Lessing's purposes is preserved by the Roman moralist Valerius Maximus:[40]

Zeuxis autem, cum Helenam pinxisset, quid de eo opere homines sensuri essent expectandum non putauit, sed protinus hos uersus adiecit:

οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν.

[38] This is not to say that Lessing could not be contemptuous of visual art when it suited his rhetorical purposes. For example, Squire 2009, 112–13 quotes a passage in which Lessing says that the divine is formless and only diminished by visual representations. This would contradict my reading of Lessing and align him with Dio Chrysostom. But in that part of his treatise (Chap. 12), Lessing is really talking about the representation of the gods in Homer and is not concerned with the visual arts at all. His work is extravagantly polemical, and extreme statements from one context cannot be used to characterize the thrust of the whole work; perfectly weighted consistency of argument is not to be expected from the provocative style of Lessing's essay.

[39] For a comprehensive overview of the ancient evidence about the painting, see de Angelis 2005, and for its post-classical reception, see Mansfield 2007. It is interesting to note that neither of these fine and lengthy studies mentions Lessing's interpretation of the painting, so suppressed has it been in modern discussions of the interface between art and text.

[40] Valerius Maximus, 3.7, *ext* 3, trans. Shackleton Bailey.

> adeone dextrae suae multum pictor adrogauit, ut ea tantum formae con-
> prehensum crederet, quantum aut Leda caelesti partu edere aut Homerus
> diuino ingenio exprimere potuit?

> When Zeuxis painted Helen, he did not think he should wait to see what
> the public would think of that work, but then and there added these verses
> himself:

>> No blame that Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans
>> Should suffer pains so long for such a woman.

> Did the painter claim so much for his hand as to believe that it had cap-
> tured all the beauty that Leda could bring forth by divine delivery or Homer
> express by godlike genius?

Valerius uses this anecdote as one of a series of examples of artistic arrogance
(*adeo … adrogauit*) but does not explain precisely why it was arrogant to inscribe
these lines. The other ancient source for this aspect of the painting likewise views
it as hubristic. In a speech defending himself from the charge of egotism, Aelius
Aristides includes the Homeric tag on Zeuxis' painting as one of a series of exam-
ples of artistic insolence.[41] Both Valerius and Aelius seem to be dependent on the
same ancient tradition which interpreted Zeuxis' Homeric tag as an act of shock-
ing arrogance. Why? Aelius says that it was because Zeuxis was comparing himself
with Zeus who had fathered the "real" Helen. Valerius gives a version of that ex-
planation, but then offers the alternative that it was because Zeuxis was daring to
rival Homer. This is closer to the truth, but it took the genius of Lessing to first
understand precisely the nature of the jibe Zeuxis was throwing at Homer here.

   When we look at those two lines of Homer together with their original context,
we see that the poet does not in fact give us a verbal expression of Helen's beauty
to compare with Zeuxis' visual image. Lessing saw that Homer's virtue is that he,
contrary to what Valerius implies, refused to attempt to "express by godlike genius"
the beauty of Helen. Instead of giving us a vague and insipid catalog of physical
features, he describes Helen's effect on the withered old men of Troy, and it is this
evasion that Zeuxis inscribed on his painting:[42]

> Eben der Homer, welcher sich aller stückweisen Schilderung körperlicher
> Schönheiten so geflissentlich enthält, von dem wir kaum einmal im Vor-
> beigehen erfahren, daß Helena weiße Arme und schönes Haar gehabt; eben
> der Dichter weiß demohngeachtet uns von ihrer Schönheit einen Begriff zu
> machen, der alles weit übersteiget, was die Kunst in dieser Absicht zu leisten
> imstande ist. Man erinnere sich der Stelle, wo Helena in die Versammlung
> der Ältesten des trojanischen Volkes tritt. Die ehrwürdigen Greise sehen sie,
> und einer sprach zu den andern:

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[41] "ὁ ὑβριστὴς ἐκεῖνος," Aelius Aristides, Περὶ τοῦ παραφθέγματος, 386.

[42] *Laocoon*, Chapter 21: McCormick 1962, 111.

οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιῇδ᾽ ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·
αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇς εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν·

Was kann eine lebhaftere Idee von Schönheit gewähren, als das kalte Alter sie des Krieges wohl wert erkennen lassen, der so viel Blut und so viele Tränen kostet?

Was Homer nicht nach seinen Bestandteilen beschreiben konnte, läßt er uns in seiner Wirkung erkennen. Malet uns, Dichter, das Wohlgefallen, die Zuneigung, die Liebe, das Entzücken, welches die Schönheit verursachet, und ihr habt die Schönheit selbst gemalet.

The same Homer, who so assiduously refrains from detailed descriptions of physical beauties, and from whom we scarcely learn in passing that Helen had white arms (*Il.* 3.121) and beautiful hair (*Il.* 3.329), nevertheless knows how to convey to us an idea of her beauty which far surpasses anything art is able to accomplish toward that end. Let us recall the passage where Helen steps before an assembly of Trojan elders. The venerable old men see her, and one says to the other:

> Small blame that the Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans should for a long time suffer misery for such a woman; she is marvelously like the immortal goddesses to look upon.

What can convey a more vivid idea of beauty than to let cold old age acknowledge that she is indeed worth the war which had cost so much blood and so many tears?

What Homer could not describe in all its various parts he makes us recognize by its effect. Paint for us, you poets, the pleasure, the affection, the love and delight which beauty brings, and you have painted beauty itself.

The juxtaposition that Zeuxis contrived between the strategic evasion of Homer and his own portrait of Helen is noteworthy for the way it undermines this tidy equivalence of poetry and painting. For he makes us see that Homer pointedly does not attempt to describe Helen's beauty, because he lacks the adequate resources to do so, but instead simply describes the consequences it has had. The true force of Zeuxis' Homeric quotation is that it highlights the *difference* in the way poetry and painting achieve their effects. This was Lessing's crucial insight.

Lessing's bias toward the textual is evident in the way he declares the contest between Homer and Zeuxis a draw, even though on his own analysis Homer's strategy is to refuse combat:[43]

> Zeuxis malte eine Helena, und hatte das Herz, jene berühmte Zeilen des Homers, in welchen die entzückten Greise ihre Empfindung bekennen, darunter zu setzen. Nie sind Malerei und Poesie in einen gleichern Wettstreit

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[43] *Laocoon*, Chapter 22: McCormick 1962, 115.

> gezogen worden. Der Sieg blieb unentschieden, und beide verdienten ge-
> krönt zu werden.
>
> Zeuxis painted a Helen and had the courage to write at the bottom of his
> picture those famous lines of Homer in which the delighted elders confess
> their feelings. Never were painting and poetry engaged in a more even con-
> test. The victory remained undecided, and both deserved a crown.

For Lessing, this anecdote is more important for what it says about the genius of
Homer than it does about the arrogance of Zeuxis. In keeping with the literary fo-
cus of his essay, Lessing frames this as a parable about great poetry: Homer's virtue
lies in the way he negotiates one of the serious, inherent limitations of language,
the vagueness of its descriptive powers. This becomes the launchpad for Lessing's
attacks on excessively descriptive passages in modern literature, such as his famous
critique of Ariosto's description of the beauty of Alcina, to which we will return
near the end of this book. Lessing's real target in the *Laocoon* is never the visual
arts; it is always bad modern poetry. Visual art, as Gombrich wisely knew, he sim-
ply did not care about. At this point we can leave Lessing to one side and instead
of steering the discussion toward contemporary poetry, we will turn back toward
ancient painting to consider what the arrogance and hubris of Zeuxis said about
the confrontation between image and text in antiquity and what his painting came
to mean in its Roman context.

We can surely assume that the Homeric quotation was an integral part of
Zeuxis' conception of the painting. The stories of its genesis attest that it was a
highly prestigious and expensive work commissioned by the city of Croton from
the most famous Greek artist of his day. It was prized as a masterpiece from the
moment it was executed until the day it was brought to Rome; it is not the sort of
object to pick up odd scribbles. Valerius says that Zeuxis put the lines on his paint-
ing and there is no good reason to doubt it.[44] He was making a subtle intervention
against the ancient *ut pictura poesis* tradition. Plutarch attributes to Simonides the
original observation that painting is silent poetry and poetry speaking painting.[45]
Zeuxis surely examined Homer's descriptions of Helen before commencing his
portrait of her; he will have found, as Lessing did, that they are remarkable in their
vagueness. In its original context, Zeuxis' Homeric quotation was not a compli-
ment to Homer or an empty boast. It was a statement that his portrait confronted
and solved an aesthetic problem that Homer could only throw up his hands at.
In the absence of adequate guidance from Homer, Zeuxis had to face a different
problem: what model could he use for a painting of a woman who was by defi-
nition more beautiful than any other mortal? His famous solution was to make a
composite portrait, combining the best features of the five most beautiful girls in
Croton. Appearing on the painting of the composite Helen in all of her splendor,

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[44] Thus Austin 1944, 21.
[45] Plut., *De glor. Ath.* 346f.

Homer's words must have seemed a provocative accusation of the inadequacy of words in the face of an image.

How well did ancient viewers understand Zeuxis' gesture? Valerius and Aelius, though they report the hubristic aspect, do not clearly show that they understand that he was juxtaposing the power of the visual and the insufficiency of Homer's words, so we might wonder if Lessing's interpretation is a modern construct. The best demonstration I can offer that Lessing's interpretation was current in antiquity is an elegy of Propertius (2.3) which I will argue was a reaction to precisely this aspect of the painting. This involves a rather long interpretation of that poem, so it must be deferred to Chapter 6, which treats the impact of the Portico of Philippus on contemporary poetry. Zeuxis' painting was an ironic and provocative presence in that building, which housed a famous set of statues of the Muses, each carrying her particular attribute. Each of the daughters of Memory in that temple symbolized a different modality of remembrance, with an important exception: there was no muse of the visual arts. Zeuxis' painting drew attention to that oversight, pointing out the general limitations of the verbal forms of remembrance presided over by the Muses. This juxtaposition of image and text was apparently the theme of the building's decoration, with its cycle of paintings depicting the Trojan War.[46] The Trojan cycle in the Portico of Philippus naturally must have engaged in a dialogue with the *Iliad* and perhaps with other epics which narrated those same events, just as we will see happened in Pompeii. When Virgil's first readers encountered the Temple of Juno in Carthage, they will have been prompted to think of the Portico of Philippus not only by the similarity in decoration, but more importantly by the way Virgil's ecphrasis continues the same dialogue between epic art and epic text which was begun with the Roman monument.

The Structure of This Book

This book is an attempt to understand the relationship between material culture and text in Augustan representations of the Trojan War, not in the traditional sense of the subordination of painting to the master narrative of epic poetry, but in the spirit of Zeuxis, to see the two media acting in a dynamic tension of rivalry, supplement and symbiosis. Since nothing of the Trojan cycle of paintings from Rome survives, we will begin by expending a considerable effort in the first four chapters to reconstruct what we can of the nature of the cycle of Trojan paintings that were represented in the portico of the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii. We must be clear that this is not a proxy for the Roman portico, for it had its own very particular agenda in its local context, but it does give us a sense of how Virgil's readers

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[46] As we will see below, Pliny reports a couple of other minor paintings hanging there, too, but the *Helen* and the Trojan cycle must have dominated the display, the former on account of its unsurpassed fame and the latter on account of their number.

in one provincial Roman town constructed a local analogue of the very sort of fictional portico that Aeneas encountered in Carthage. The Pompeian cycle has not received much attention for the simple reason that the paintings were exposed to the weather and rapidly disappeared in the first decade after the monument's excavation in 1817. It turns out, however, that by using very early 19th-century archival sources we can discover the original placement of many of these Trojan paintings, and thereby correct many mistaken identifications of their subjects; we can also add to the number of known paintings, and elucidate their interconnections. The first chapter provides an overview of these disparate nineteenth-century sources, assessing their usefulness and their problems for the project of reconstruction. The second chapter reconstructs the placement of paintings on the east wall of the portico, where the paintings were best preserved after excavation. The third chapter considers the much more exiguous evidence for the other three outer walls of the sanctuary. The Temple of Apollo was arguably the most venerable cult site in the city of Pompeii, so the pictorial cycle that decorated its portico was of particular importance to the inhabitants. This, as we will see, is attested by the frequency with which its decorative elements were quoted in domestic contexts elsewhere in the city. The fourth chapter examines the impact of the temple's decorative program on Pompeian houses, and on this basis tentatively suggests a few more scenes that might have been drawn from the temple but did not survive there. This chapter also has a full reexamination of the archaeological evidence for the dating of the portico and for the several phases of its decoration. It concludes by suggesting some links between this building project and the Portico of Philippus as its Roman model, taking into consideration current debates over the relationship between Roman provincial and metropolitan culture. This Pompeian half of the book, consisting of the first four chapters, should, I hope, stand on its own as an important contribution to our knowledge of one of the most important public buildings in Pompeii and also of Roman temple decoration more generally.

The second half of the book takes us from Pompeii to Rome. In the first of these two remaining chapters, we will be attempting to reconstruct what can be known about the Portico of Philippus as a context for a cycle of paintings of the Trojan War. The nature of this project is very different, however, for we are dealing with a monument which is completely lost to us and for whose decorative program there is no direct visual evidence. Even to discern the basic architectural form of the portico will be a challenge. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of interesting information to be discovered about it and its relationship to the Temple of Hercules of the Muses which it surrounded and re-framed. In recent years, there has been a great deal of scholarly interest in that Republican temple; we will bring that scholarship together with a field that has been equally productive recently: the ways the ideology of the emperor Augustus was articulated in his building projects and how this complemented the literature produced under his patronage. Such studies have hitherto focused on more famous monuments; the Portico of Philippus does not

even appear in the index of Zanker's *Power of Images*, the classic work on this subject.[47] The Portico of Philippus deserves to be studied alongside its better-known contemporaries like the Temple of Palatine Apollo and Augustus' Mausoleum and Forum, for its program is every bit as sophisticated and its connection with the literature of the period is, if anything, even more profound. The construction of this portico entailed a complete renovation of Rome's ersatz temple of the Muses or Museum, a place long associated with the craft of Latin poetry. We will see that the Portico of Philippus was a key part of the Augustan building program and was of particular importance for the intersection of poetry and the plastic arts.

The focus of the final chapter remains on Rome, but shifts from visual art to literature. We will re-examine several of the most famous passages of Augustan poetry to discover that the Portico of Philippus is a subtle but quite important presence. These are texts in which the metaphor of the poetry book as a temple serves to outline the poet's program and his relationship with the Augustan regime. The most fundamental of these passages is the metaphorical description in Virgil's *Georgics* of his future *Aeneid*, in a manner which derives from the concrete iconography of the Portico of Philippus as well as the Temple of Palatine Apollo. This fictional temple therefore foreshadows the *Aeneid*'s Temple of Juno in Carthage with its very different decorative program. When we turn to that ecphrasis, we will see that many of the hermeneutic problems which we have confronted in Pompeii are also present in Virgil's account in a way which destabilizes Aeneas' confident identification of those scenes. Other Augustan poets were engaged with the portico in less obvious ways. Horace adopted the persona of "priest of the Muses", responding very differently to Augustus' renovation of the nearest thing Rome had to a proper institutional home for such a priest. Propertius responded in turn to Horace by setting up an alternative model of the poet's relationship with the Muses which critiqued in a quite detailed fashion Virgil's imaginary temple and Horace's imaginary priesthood. Rarely did the Augustan poets allude to the home of the Muses or the topography of Mount Helicon without having one eye on the Portico of Philippus and its artworks.

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[47] Zanker 1988, 384; it is also absent from Rutledge 2012.

Chapter 1

Pompeii: Sources for the Temple of Apollo

When the building now known as the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii was excavated in 1817, visitors excitedly reported that the portico around the temple was decorated with beautiful paintings of scenes from the Trojan War. Some of the visitors emphasized that many images were fragmentary, faded and difficult to make out, but others were taken by the beauty of the paintings. For example, Henry Wilkins' book of views of Pompeii, which was published in Rome in 1819, illustrates a general view of the newly-excavated temple and the accompanying commentary waxes enthusiastic on the subject of the decoration of the portico (p. 17):

> Les murailles étoient orneés de superbes peintures à fresque, dont quelques unes sont parfaitement conservées au même endroit, et dont l'exécution feroit honneur aux meilleurs artistes modernes: puissent-elles être respectées des voyageurs!!

> The walls were decorated with excellent frescoes, some of which are perfectly preserved in that same place, and whose execution would do honor to the best modern artists. May they be respected by travelers!

In the years immediately after the excavation of the monument in 1817 the paintings in the temple were therefore a fairly significant attraction for visitors to the site. Unfortunately, the wish expressed by Wilkins that the paintings be preserved for posterity was not fulfilled, and the plaster, which was left exposed to the elements, before long began to weather away.[1]

Just as Wilkins appreciated the danger posed by souvenir-hunting tourists, the danger of leaving the plaster exposed to the elements was appreciated at the time. As we will see, much of the decay in the Temple of Apollo happened in the time between the publication of the first installment of Sir William Gell's *Pompeiana*

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[1] On the decision not to remove the plaster, see the discussion by Bragantini in Baldassarre et al. 1995, 112.

in 1819 and the second in 1832.[2] In the preface to the latter, Gell may well have been thinking of that monument in particular when he wrote:

> With such an accession of new materials, the Author of the present work has thought it advisable to lay them before the public without delay, aware that time will incalculably diminish the freshness of those objects, which, when stripped of their external coats by the rains of winter or the burning suns of summer, lose by far the greater portion of their interest and identity.

In a private letter written from Naples on April 8, 1831, Gell made the point with rather more sarcasm:

> A Fete at which all the inhabitants of the country assemble in Pompeii, when more than usual liberty is allowed, procured me the means of drawing and measuring many things usually watched with much jealousy till they are destroyed by the weather.

Essentially none of the painted plaster in the portico survives today, and one can trace the process of decay through the drawings and photographs made by visitors throughout the nineteenth century. This process of gradual loss did not attract much scandal or comment in the decades that followed, for the interest of visitors to Pompeii had already been attracted by newer discoveries. In the 1820s and 30s, the excavation of the Houses of the Tragic Poet, of Castor and Pollux, of the Faun, and so on provided the visitor with a dazzling array of gorgeous paintings and mosaics that survived in a much better state of preservation and with more vivid color than had been the case in the Temple of Apollo. Guidebooks continued to explain that the walls of the sanctuary had once held pictures of the Trojan war, but these comments were derived from earlier books; the images had disappeared.

When one takes into account the delicate state of the plaster when first excavated, the ravages of weather, the restrictions on visitors drawing the monuments, and the attraction of new and better preserved paintings, it might seem impossible to recover anything of the original state of the interior walls of the portico. The evidence is indeed very patchy, but as we will see, it is worth putting together. Our only access to the paintings that were found there is via early drawings and descriptions of the monument, especially those that were made by visitors to the site not long after its excavation in 1817. To the limited extent that scholars have examined the paintings through the medium of indirect reports from early visitors, it has been through the line-drawings of an Austrian scholar named Anton von Steinbüchel who visited Italy in 1819 and published a book of illustrations of the ancient world in 1833. As we will see in a moment, there are a number of problems with this source. It does not show all of the surviving paintings, it extrapolates to put things in the compositions which were not there, it misidentifies

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[2] The second edition of *Pompeiana* was effectively an entirely new book, and does not contain most of the material on the Temple of Apollo discussed here.

the subject of several paintings, and it was probably based not on the paintings directly, but on an intermediate representation of them. Most important of all, the drawings of von Steinbüchel just show the paintings, without context and in no particular order. Fortunately, there are other sources which can help to fill in the gaps. The first source we will examine is a sketchbook belonging to the antiquary Sir William Gell, who visited and drew the temple as it was being excavated.

Gell vs. Gandy

The structure adjacent to the forum in Pompeii which is today known as the Temple of Apollo was not always called by that name. Throughout the nineteenth century, the sanctuary was known as the Temple of Venus, due to an inscription that was wrongly thought to link the temple to the goddess; ultimately, the correct identification was established by the discovery and deciphering of a dedication to Apollo in the Oscan language.[3] Even before the persistently erroneous identification of the site as the Temple of Venus took hold, the building was known by several other names immediately after its discovery. The most vivid picture of the uncertainties surrounding the new discovery is provided not by the excavation reports, which are extremely laconic and are more interested in recording the discovery of removable objects, but by the internal inconsistencies found in the first edition of Gell and Gandy's *Pompeiana*, the popularizing work that first brought Pompeii to a wide European audience.

In the beginning, *Pompeiana* was a collaboration between Sir William Gell, who was resident in Naples, and John Peter Gandy in London.[4] Most accounts of their work assume that they were both in Italy together, just as they had earlier voyaged to Ionia together under the auspices of the Society of Dilettanti. But this second collaboration was organized very differently. Gell had obtained a position as chamberlain to the exiled Princess Caroline of Brunswick, the estranged wife of the Prince Regent. He moved to Italy with her while Gandy remained in London. For this publication, Gell would sketch the new discoveries at Pompeii and post his reports to Gandy, who would arrange for the lithographs to be engraved and would compose the text to be typeset by the London printer. Gandy's letters to Gell are preserved in the British Library and they present a picture of two authors rushing to get the material into print as quickly as possible in order to beat out the competition.[5] This was an unusual mode of just-in-time book production,

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[3] For the inscription, see below, Chapter 4.

[4] John Peter was the less talented but far more successful brother of the great architectural draughtsman Joseph Michael Gandy, who is best known for his collaborations with Sir John Soane.

[5] For example, in a letter of 1815 or 16, Gandy speaks gleefully about the growing list of subscriptions to their project: "… so you will become very rich as well as myself …" This fascinating collection of letters, from which the quotations below are taken, are part of the papers of Keppel Craven, Gell's companion (BL MSS Add. 63617).

where the final product was being engraved and typeset in a distant country even before the complete manuscript was finished. The obvious problem was that new material was continually being discovered in Pompeii and reported by Gell, but Gandy could not easily revise the earlier text and illustrations, already written, typeset and engraved in London, in order to take the continuing discoveries into account. One of the things that changed in the period 1817 to 1819 while the book was being produced was the progressive excavation of the Temple of Apollo and its changing identification as the Temple of Venus. Different passages of *Pompeiana* therefore give conflicting names to the structure: House of the Dwarfs, Temple of Bacchus, Temple of Venus; so the authors were compelled to acknowledge and discuss the issue of identification explicitly.

The first name that Gell and Gandy gave to the structure was "House of the Dwarfs", reflecting the earliest phase of excavation in which the portico surrounding the still-buried temple was identified as belonging to a private house. The dwarfs refer to paintings with Nilotic scenes of pygmies and crocodiles. These were apparently the first paintings discovered, and they are copiously illustrated in the first edition of *Pompeiana*. Sadly, the Trojan paintings were not given similarly extensive treatment in this work. This was due in large part to the difficulties in communicating between Naples and London, for all that the text of *Pompeiana* has to say about the painted decoration of the temple portico is that there were "divers representations of architectural subjects and pygmies" (p. 227). Nevertheless, there is one hint in the published book that Gell was aware of the Trojan material, even if Gandy never understood its significance. At the head of each chapter, there is a decorative, engraved vignette without any caption. At the start of the chapter on theaters (p. 223), there is an engraving of a painting of Bacchus and Silenus which was found in the apartments that adjoin the Temple of Apollo to the north and which is today in the archaeological museum in Naples.[6] This is the image which gave the temple its occasional identification as the Temple of Bacchus, which is one of the names used for it by Gell and Gandy in that chapter. At the head of the next chapter on theaters (p. 233), there is a vignette which shows a heroic warrior on the right who is drawing his sword as he advances upon a seated figure on the left and is restrained from behind by the goddess Athena. We know from other evidence discussed below that this is a representation of a picture from the portico of the Temple of Apollo which depicts a scene from the assembly of the Greeks at the start of Homer's *Iliad*: Achilles is infuriated with Agamemnon but Athena prompts him to think twice about killing him as he draws his sword.

At this point, the text of *Pompeiana* says nothing at all about what this image represents or where it comes from. Elsewhere in the volume, however, the key to the map of Pompeii has this discussion of the temple (p. 213):

> No name has hitherto, with sufficient authority, been applied to this edifice.

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[6] See fig. 47; on this painting, see García y García 2006, 110–12.

> On the spot, a portion of a female statue, found therein, has induced the
> excavators to assign it to Venus; while the pictures found within its enclosure
> do not afford much better ground for supposing it of any other divinity.
> Around the walls of the porticoes, at 2 feet 6 inches from the ground, run
> a series of paintings, of dwarfs and architectural subjects. In one corner is a
> painting of Achilles and Agamemnon: in another Hector tied to the car of
> Achilles: and in an apartment is a picture of Bacchus and Silenus. Pygmies
> are from the Nile; and the latter picture may have reference to the god here
> worshipped, with whose rites some mixture of other ceremonies may have
> been celebrated.

A footnote later points the reader to the location where the picture of Bacchus
and Silenus may be found illustrated as a vignette, but no such cross-reference is
given to the image of Achilles and Agamemnon. Apart from the indication that
this painting and the one of Hector were found in different corners of the portico,
no precise location is given for either of the Trojan paintings, and indeed the fact
that these two were part of a whole Trojan series is not made clear.

The limitations of this account of the decoration of the portico are clearly a
result of the way in which the volume was produced and of the difficulties in com-
municating between the two authors. These issues are vividly documented in the
letters that Gandy wrote to Gell at this time. Gandy constantly demanded prompt
news of the new finds while cajoling Gell with promises that the book would make
them both rich and threatening that competitors were about to beat them to mar-
ket. In this pressurized atmosphere, tension between the two collaborators often
led to conflict and insult. This is particularly evident in the letters that deal with
information about the ongoing excavation of the Temple of Apollo. On October
3, 1817 Gandy writes:

> If you send immediately anything relating to the Basilica, it will be just in
> time to come in, but if you keep it in your breeches pocket till Christmas,
> it must be deferred to the addenda, and until then the place must be called
> the House of the Dwarfs.

At this point Gandy seems reluctant to give up the identification as "House of
the Dwarfs", presumably because some material has already been typeset with that
name, but he is aware of the new identification as a public building, possibly a
basilica. A month later, he has come round to the fact that it is a temple, writing
on November 25:

> … and also give me some sort of data by which I can apply the new temple
> on W (crossed out, replaced with E [wrongly]) side of Forum to the Plan.
> This you should have done but have not done you b———.

Gandy is too much of a gentleman to write out the insult, but the sentiment is
crystal clear. The new Temple of Apollo, whose position with respect to the forum

Gandy is still confused about, is at this moment being identified with Bacchus, as Gandy goes on:

> Don't forget to tell me how the new temple comes with regard to this and in your future views do be a bit careful in marking material as plaster and stone. It gives interest here and I wish you had marked on what respective views of Bacchus the several paintings were found as by giving indications in the views – is interesting to the multitude here, and affords me matter for letter press – I shall not fail returning what I don't engrave as well as all I do – but do be assured you do not so well at Naples know what will take as we on the spot.

This passage is crucial for our interest in the manner in which the Trojan paintings were displayed in the portico. Here Gandy demands to know where in the views of the temple the various paintings were found. This is something that has never been known. Did Gell simply fail to answer?

Gandy persistently accuses Gell of sloth, sloppiness and tardiness:

> Pray lose no time in getting or procuring me the new discovery … I must beseech you on this point not to have the gout or delay. (October 22)

> Don't be in a rage at all this, or tired or annoyed, or declare that you have made one drawing or three drawings, and won't make another. (November 28)

We do not have Gell's side of the correspondence with Gandy, but a look at the letters he wrote to his family during this period tells something of his side of the story.[7] In addition to his researches at Pompeii, Gell was very busy dealing with the affairs of Princess Caroline, which were at this moment coming to a crisis. Though persona non grata in England, Caroline was the mother of the future heir to the British throne and a royal person of undeniable importance. She was famous for her lack of discretion, and Gell, as one of her chamberlains, consequently had his hands full. In 1817, the princess was residing in Pesaro with a male companion and Gell had retired to Naples, ostensibly on account of his gout, but surely also to distance himself from the various scandals gathering around her. His correspondence with Caroline and others in this period is dominated by attempts to deal with several emergencies, including a shooting by one of her servants, but especially her dire and murky financial situation. It is clear that in late 1817 Gell's work on Pompeii will have been hampered by his need to deal with Caroline's crises, his attacks of the gout and the authorities periodically refusing permission for anyone to draw various parts of the ruins, especially those newly excavated.

Then in London in November 1817, just as Gandy was demanding more precise illustrations of the Temple of Apollo, Caroline's daughter, Princess Char-

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[7] These are preserved with the Gell family papers in the Derbyshire Record Office in Matlock. Particularly useful are the volume of letters written in this period to his brother (D258/50) and the whimsical letters from Princess Caroline to Gell (D3287/4).

lotte, died in childbirth. The question of whether or not Caroline should return to Britain to take advantage of the reaction of extreme national grief naturally dominated Gell's concerns. Against this immediate backdrop Gandy's charges of sloth seem extraordinarily unfair. In his letter of October 22, Gandy implied that Gell's "gout" was an ailment of convenience; but Gell's letters to his family attest to his physical agony in this period. Furthermore, the work Gell did for the princess was not unrelated to his ability to document the excavations in Pompeii. He was not a wealthy man, but he served as a point of contact for British gentlemanly scholars who wished to visit the antiquities of the area, somewhat as Sir William Hamilton had done in previous years. His connections with the exiled princess and with other foreigners of high status gave him a standing with the local authorities that sometimes permitted him to sketch what others were refused. Given the pressure of his other affairs and the physical discomfort that traveling to Pompeii afforded him, it is impressive that Gell drew as much as he did, though he was helped by the use of a camera lucida.[8]

Despite his constant complaining, Gandy did occasionally acknowledge that Gell gave him what he had asked for. In his letter of November 28, 1817 he acknowledges in a back-handed way that he has been given quite a bit of detail on the new temple:

> … all this being the case I must take the liberty of reprehending the custom which has grown upon you of late in substituting quantity for quality – less of the former with more attention to the detail will oblige as you have done with regard to the new temple …

Gandy had asked for details of the new temple in the letter he wrote only three days before, so presumably their letters were crossing each other in the post. But if Gell had given the sort of detail Gandy had asked for about where the different paintings in the portico of the Temple of Apollo were found, this information did not make its way into the printed *Pompeiana*. We may then ask what happened to this information. In his letters, Gandy repeatedly reassures Gell that he will send his drawings back to him. This he apparently did, for Gell's notebooks include several which contain the original sketches for the first and second editions of *Pompeiana*. These notebooks were dispersed after his death and eventually found their way into a number of collections, including the archaeological museum in Naples, the British School at Rome, and the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles. The two books of sketches of interest to us, however, are those containing the original drawings for the first version of *Pompeiana*. These are part of the Jacques Doucet collection, now in the Institut national de l'histoire de l'art in Paris and available on-line.

Among the sketches of the temple made by Gell in 1817 we can find the originals for the engravings of the Nilotic and architectural scenes, and reproductions

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[8] See Wallace-Hadrill 2006.

of the two Trojan paintings mentioned by Gell, the dragging of Hector behind Achilles' chariot and the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon. The latter has some instructions to Gandy on the reverse of the paper (f. 70), which indicate that it came from "the temple once called the house of the dwarfs". Gandy's failure to identify the origin of this painting when he had it engraved seems thus not to have been for lack of information from Gell. In fact, in another drawing from the same notebook, Gell drew a plan of the temple which tells a bit more than any other source about the location of several of its paintings (fig. 1). The annotations to the plan tell us that the Nilotic scenes were found on the south wall, near the entrance: see the phrase "paintings of Dwarfs" which is legible in the enlarged detail (fig. 2). Crucially for us, Gell also indicates the precise location of one of the Trojan paintings – the only source to do so. On the east wall, the second painting toward the north is labeled as "picture of Achilles Agamemnon and Minerva", which is to say the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon.
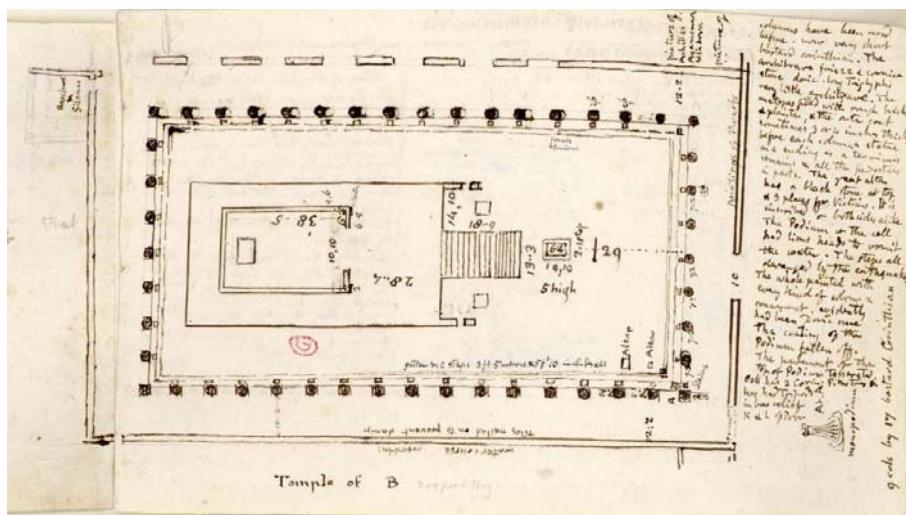
Figure 1: Gell, plan of the Temple of B[acchus] (i.e. Apollo), reconstructed from the main part on folio 84 and a small part on folio 69 of the sketchbook (vol. 1) for the first volume of *Pompeiana*; Jacques Doucet collection, Institut national de l'histoire de l'art, Paris.

The indication of the location of a single painting may seem a paltry help, but it provides us with a point of departure for reconstructing the east wall, and it will serve to confirm the more indirect and quite novel methodology employed in the next chapter for determining the location of the other paintings. This method will depend on two main types of evidence. The first are sketches of the paintings themselves, which come without any context or indication of where in the portico they were found. The second kind is architectural drawings of the whole wall.
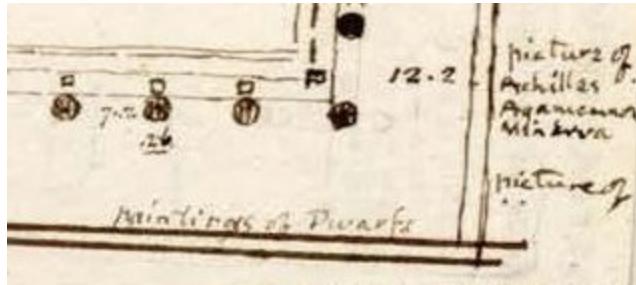
Figure 2: Detail of fig. 1, showing the southeast corner on Gell's plan.

These usually do not show enough detail of the individual paintings to identify the subject, but, as we will see, they do sometimes show enough to match the figural compositions known from other sources.

Steinbüchel, Morelli and Rochette

In 1819, the Austrian antiquarian Professor Anton Steinbüchel von Rheinwall made a trip to Rome and southern Italy.[9] He visited Pompeii and saw the Temple of Apollo soon after its excavation. Many years later, starting in 1833, he published his *Atlas*, a large-format, illustrated set of volumes on the monuments and architecture of antiquity.[10] Like many nineteenth-century books on antiquities, the illustrations were almost entirely copied from other published sources. The plans of buildings from Pompeii were drawn mainly from Gell's *Pompeiana* (discussed above) and from Mazois' *Les ruines de Pompéi* (discussed below). One important exception pertains to the Temple of Apollo (or Venus, as Steinbüchel calls it). In the final volume, which was an appendix to Steinbüchel's *Atlas*, there are a series of line drawings of the Trojan pictures from the temple portico. These drawings are all that scholarship has hitherto known of the paintings from the Temple of Apollo, and they have attracted a small amount of discussion.[11] As the only surviving effort to document the frescoes in the temple, Steinbüchel's engravings are our most important item of evidence. But, as we will see, they are also problematic. They do not document all of the paintings, for at least one other is attested by another source. His identification of the subjects of the paintings is fallible. And, as we will now see, his drawings do not distinguish between those parts of the frescoes that survived and those parts that were speculative reconstruction.

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[9] A. Bernhard-Walcher in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon*, s.v., vol. 13, fasc. 60, p. 163.

[10] *Grosser antiquarischer Atlas: oder, Abbildung der vorzüglichsten Denkmähler der alten Welt zu einer wissenschaftlichen Begründung der Alterthumskunde, nach den Vorträgen im K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinett zu Wien* (Vienna 1833).

[11] For bibliography, see *LIMC* s.v. "Achilleus" 428, 436, 465, 672 [Kossatz-Deissmann].

Steinbüchel's engravings were apparently executed by Albert Schindler, who signed the bottom right corner of one of them (fig. 47). He was employed as an engraver by the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Antiquities in Vienna, of which Steinbüchel was director.[12] There is no evidence that Schindler ever travelled to Italy, so he must have been working from line drawings provided by Steinbüchel. The question then is: where did Steinbüchel get these images? He does not appear to have made a regular practice of sketching monuments on his travels. His text highlights the fact that, unlike most of the other illustrations taken from published sources, these engravings were done after original drawings made on the spot; but he discreetly does not say who made them.[13] It was difficult to get permission to sketch recent discoveries in Pompeii, and we have seen that even a well-connected long-term resident like Gell had frequent difficulties. Restrictions had eased under French rule, but with the restoration of Bourbon power in 1815 the situation seems to have been uncertain. Given all this, it is not very likely that Steinbüchel, as a casual visitor, made the drawings himself. In fact, a strong argument can be made that they came from the pencil of the official artist attached to the excavations, Francesco Morelli, whose work has preserved copies of many now-lost Pompeian wall paintings. If so, it is natural that Steinbüchel does not name the source of his drawings, for Morelli would have been flouting the terms of his employment and breaking the law.

Preserved in the archives of the Archaeological Museum in Naples are three reproductions by Morelli in pencil and tempera of wall paintings from the Temple of Apollo. One is of the Nilotic scenes with pygmies of the type that Gell and Gandy illustrated prolifically (fig. 57); the other two are perfect matches for two of Steinbüchel's Trojan line-drawings.[14] One painting is of the so-called dragging of Hector (fig. 53) and the other shows a warrior, encouraged by Athena, who seems to be casting a spear (fig. 3). These two correspond so closely to Steinbüchel's drawings that it has been conjectured astutely by Bragantini that Morelli was their source.[15] We can make this claim even more secure by looking closely at the details of one of Steinbüchel's images.

If we compare Steinbüchel's image of Minerva encouraging a warrior (fig. 4) to Morelli's, we find that the details are nearly identical. The differences are very minor: naturally, the colors are lost; some small details are elided, such as the second soldier standing behind Minerva on the left; the head of the main warrior is

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[12] S. Kehl-Baiere in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon*, s.v., vol. 10, fasc. 47, p. 144.

[13] "Sämmtlich nach Originalzeichnungen an Ort und Stelle." The engravings of the terracotta tiles used on the west wall of the temple portico, which are discussed below, are likewise emphasized as original: "Nach Originalzeichnung" (vol. 7, pl. 42, fig. 1a, 1b).

[14] These images are published and discussed in Baldassarre et al. 1995, 112–4 [Bragantini]; they are also reproduced in Baldassarre 1981, 138.

[15] Baldassarre et al. 1995, 112: "le tavole riprodotte nell'*Atlas* di Steinbüchel infatti sono così vicine, non solo iconograficamente, ma anche 'stilisticamente' a queste, da far pensare che ne siano una copia."
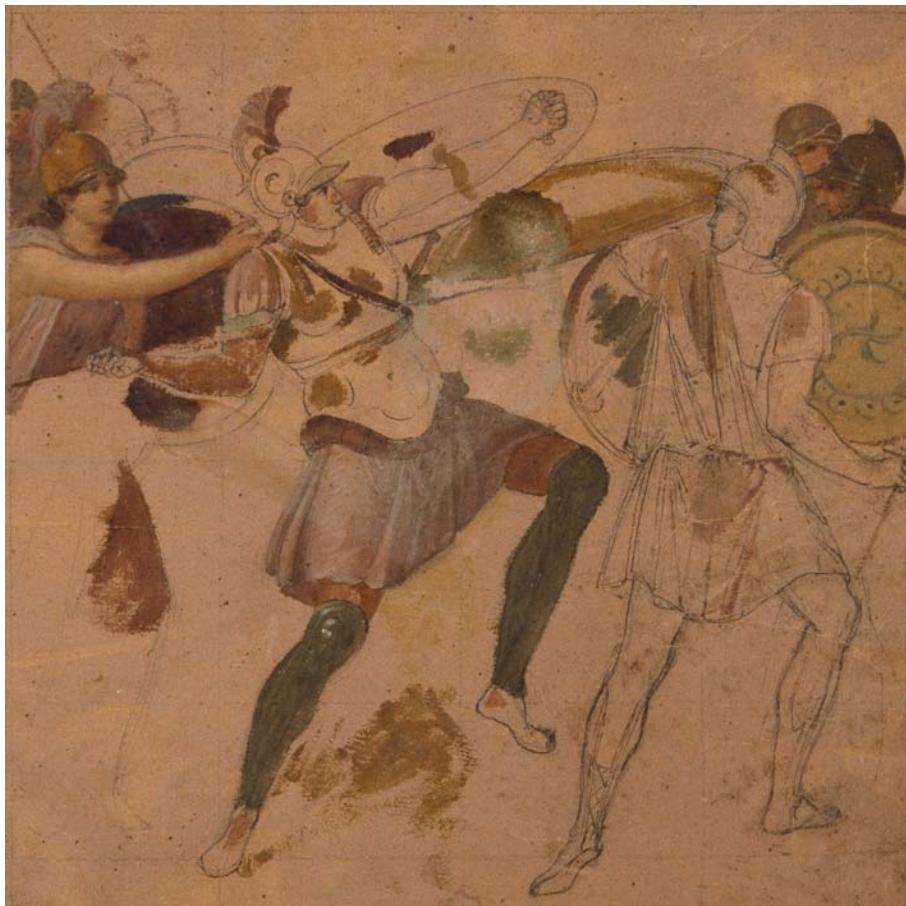
Figure 3: Morelli, archive of the National Archaeological Museum, Naples (ADS 696); see also fig. 53.

the correct size, whereas Morelli's head is disproportionately small compared to the body; and Steinbüchel indicates three large cracks in the plaster on the bottom half which are not visible in Morelli's image. This similarity of detail might be regarded as the result of their closeness to the original. But this is made extremely unlikely by the way Morelli distinguishes between the surviving plaster, which he painted in tempera, and his hypothetical reconstruction in pencil of what must have been at best faint indications. That the original was in such a dreadful state is confirmed by Steinbüchel's comments. He singles out this image as having been particularly difficult to make out: "In one painting (pl. 8.B.2) the colors do not survive, as they are already too badly weathered and only the outlines of the figures are distinguishable."[16] If we compare Morelli's painting of Hector (fig. 53),

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[16] "Bei dem einen Gemälde (8.B.2) sind keine Farben angegeben, weil sie schon zu sehr verwittert

we see that this much better preserved fresco was rendered in tempera in full color, without recourse to guesswork indicated in pencil. If the parts of the painting that Morelli draws in pencil were as difficult to distinguish as Steinbüchel's annotation indicates, it seems quite impossible that multiple artists could have come up independently with identical hypothetical restorations. In particular, the soldier with his back to us in the right foreground appears to have been attested only by a bit of fabric and a bit of his shield. Morelli's sketch is clearly provisional, and the difference in media makes it clear that the right half is quite speculative; the copy he made for Steinbüchel unfortunately obliterated this distinction, except in the case of the soldier's right leg, which was not copied.

Figure 4: Steinbüchel, *Atlas*, vol. 8, pl. B.2

We may therefore conclude that the engravings published by Steinbüchel are

und nur mehr die Umrisse der Figuren kenntlich sind".

dependent on Morelli's work and were probably even made by Morelli for the Austrian scholar when he visited in 1819. Apparently, then, Morelli had made more drawings of the portico for his own use than the ones that survive in the Naples archive. The official record of the excavation notes that he was instructed to execute a reproduction of the wall in the apartment behind the portico with the image of Bacchus and Silenus. This he did, for in the archive there is a finished, polished tempera painting of the entire wall.[17] He was further instructed to execute paintings of two other portions of the portico walls, but we are not told which ones. The excavation reports note that, beyond the wall paintings explicitly singled out, there were others worth copying:[18]

> si è stabilito poter egli il Morelli eseguire le copie delle seguenti: …Due pareti, una lunga pal. 29, alta pal. 11, e l'altra lunga pal. 12, alta 16, poste nella parte interna del tempio ipetro a settentrione della Basilica, ove (oltre molti graziosi compartimenti architettonici ed eleganti ornati) sono delle figure, cacce, ed altri simili belle cose. Altra parete lunga pal. 14, alta pal. 12, dello stanzino posto dietro il detto tempio, nel quale stanzino trovasi il bel quadretto di Bacco col vecchio Sileno in atto di suonare la lira, e tuttociò in mezzo a bellissime riquadrature ed arabeschi, e tondi forniti di teste di Fauni; oltre a diverse altre interessanti dipinture sparse qua e là nel luogo medesimo, le quali meritano di essere copiate, avanti che la intemperie della stagione finisca di distruggerle e di consumarle.

> It was decided that Morelli would be able to make copies of the following: … Two walls: one 29 *palmi* (6.5m) wide, 11 *palmi* high (2.5m); and the other 12 *palmi* (2.7m) wide, 16 *palmi* (3.6m) high; both located in the inner part of the hypaethral temple to the north of the Basilica, where (in addition to many graceful architectural sections and elegant decorations) there are figures, hunting scenes, and other such lovely things. Another wall, 14 *palmi* (3.1m) wide, 12 *palmi* (2.7m) high, from the little room behind that same temple, in which was found the beautiful little painting of Bacchus with the aged Silenus playing the lyre, and all of this in the midst of lovely panels and arabesques, and roundels with heads of fauns in them.

It seems that Morelli's rough sketches of the Nilotic scenes (fig. 57) and of the two Trojan paintings (figs. 53 and 3) were preparatory work for the other two finished paintings of full stretches of walls that he had been officially charged with making. Fortunately, we have an image which probably descends from one of those lost works.

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[17] Baldassarre et al. 1995, 115, fig. 57.
[18] Fiorelli 1860–4, vol. 1, 211–12 (12 August, 1818).
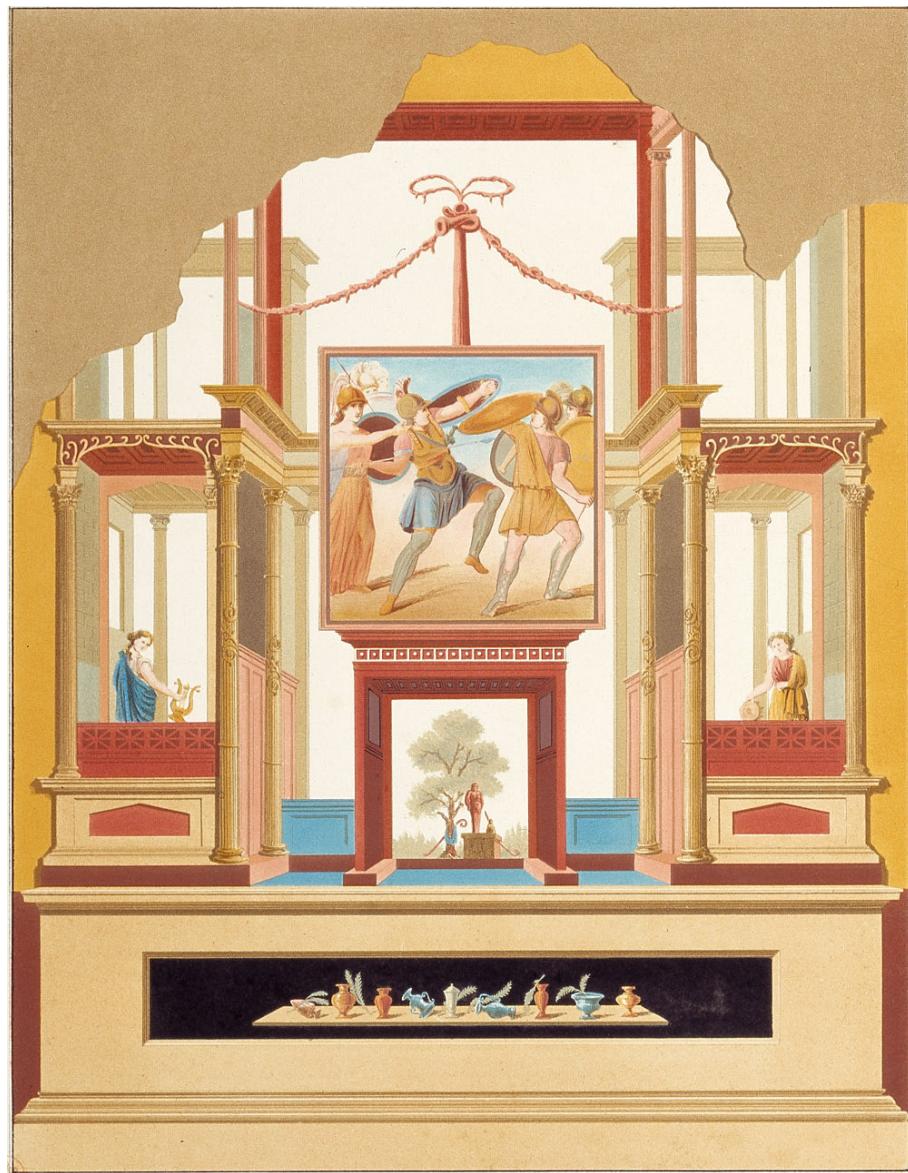
Figure 5: Raoul-Rochette, *Choix de Peintures de Pompéi* (Paris 1844–53), pl. 8.

The diffusion of Morelli's work as the basis for contemporary published representations can be seen again in an impressive color lithograph in Désiré-Raoul Rochette's *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* of 1844–53. The details of the figural painting at the center (fig. 5) follow Morelli's tentative penciled reconstructions as if they are gospel, including elements which Steinbüchel had omitted, such as the full right leg of the soldier on the right, the head of the second soldier behind Minerva on the left, and the spiral motif on the helmet of the central warrior. Rochette was not, therefore, copying Steinbüchel's earlier publication. Further evidence is provided by the coloring. Morelli's example is followed where he used paint to indicate the color of surviving plaster. The blueish tinge of the skirt of the central warrior and the greenish tinge of his greaves are similar, as is the deep red of the shield (her own?) behind Minerva'a outstretched arm. None of these details came from Steinbüchel, so they must have derived either from Morelli or from autopsy of the original painting itself.

Once again it is the soldier on the right with his back to us, where the original painting was very hard to read, that is most helpful for establishing the influence of Morelli's reconstruction. The right leg, which is not shown by Steinbüchel, might show the direct influence of Morelli, but it could equally be claimed that this was an inevitable extrapolation by Raoul-Rochette. The left leg, however, with the crisscross pattern at the back of the greave, is much more distinctive. Steinbüchel showed the backward angle of the leg and the raised heel, but he did not show the soldier's armor. Raoul-Rochette's perfect agreement with Morelli on this detail can only be explained by their interdependence, since such details were no longer distinguishable at the late date when Rochette visited.

Rochette discussed the state of the temple and the source of his drawings of it in an earlier work. He notes that at the time of his most recent visit to Pompeii in 1838, the painted plaster had undergone serious decay.[19] Like Steinbüchel, he came away from Naples bearing drawings of the Trojan paintings, and he likewise discreetly suppresses the name of the person who supplied them:[20]

> Ceux des sujets qui sont encore reconnaissables, dans l'état de dégradation très-avancée où se trouvent aujourd'hui ces peintures, ont rapport à l'histoire d'Achille; ils représentent, l'un *Achille retenu par Minerve*, l'autre *Hector traîné au char d'Achille*; j'en possède des dessins, exécutés avec toute l'exactitude possible à une époque où les peintures originales subsistaient encore presque dans toute leur intégrité.
>
> Those of the subjects which are still able to be distinguished, in the very advanced state of decay in which these paintings are today to be found, are related to the story of Achilles. One represents "Achilles held back by Minerva", another "Hector dragged from the chariot of Achilles". I possess some drawings of them, which were executed with all possible accuracy at

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[19] Rochette had also been in Pompeii earlier (1826–7): Mascoli 1981, 294.
[20] Raoul-Rochette 1840, 195–8.

a time when the original paintings were still preserved nearly intact.

He essentially admits that the precise drawings he acquired showed more of the paintings than he himself could see at the time of his second visit. These drawings must have been Morelli's. This explains why Rochette's illustration is so similar to Steinbüchel's, but contains elements that are independent of it. It seems that Rochette acquired from Morelli not merely a line drawing of the Trojan picture, but a color painting of the entire decorative panel in which the Minerva painting was situated, for his chromolithograph shows the full context of the painted plaster that surrounded the figural composition (fig. 5).[21] The sketch by Morelli which survives in Naples (fig. 3) will have been a preparatory study for his fuller treatment of the full panel, a copy of which must have been given or sold to Rochette. Unfortunately, Rochette never published the drawings of the two subjects he mentioned above, so we do not know if they were similarly complete, full-color illustrations of the entire panel, or if they were just line drawings of the figural panels, like Steinbüchel's.

All of this is important, because we will see that the right half of the painting of Minerva encouraging a warrior is in fact completely inaccurate. It is only by looking closely at what lies behind these visual sources that we see that we do not have three independent witnesses to a reliable report; rather it is the same hypothetical reconstruction by Morelli repeated by three closely related sources. The line drawings reproduced by Steinbüchel and the view of the wall given by Rochette are all derived from the work of Morelli, who seems to have discreetly supplied copies of his official work to contemporary visitors. The derivative drawings, however, tend to obscure the distinction between actually preserved plaster and Morelli's more speculative reconstruction. This should caution us that Steinbüchel's evidence may contain extrapolations.

The Architects

The next piece of the puzzle comes from an unexpected source. It is well known that many architects from all over Europe came to draw the newly excavated ruins in Pompeii and their work has been the subject of important recent scholarship. As architects, their concern was to represent the state of the buildings as a whole, but they often recorded the appearance of the decoration on the walls. These images have been widely used to reconstruct the overall appearance of walls whose painted plaster has disappeared. What we will do is to take this process even further and blow up the minute details of the figural, Trojan compositions at the center of the decorative scheme. These are usually tiny and too small to be legible in lithographs.

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[21] This element does not derive from Mazois, who shows a similar tableau but without a central figural painting (fig. 35); there are enough small differences in the illusionistic architecture and large differences in the coloring to conclude that the two men were showing different sections of the wall.

But if we go back to the originals, we can often make out enough detail that, in combination with the information from Steinbüchel, we will be able to determine the position and subject matter of quite a few of these paintings. This methodology, to use extreme enlargements of very small details of architectural drawings, is somewhat novel, so it is fortunate that in one case, the plan of the temple in Gell's sketchbook which indicates the original location of one of the Trojan paintings, we have external confirmation that these small details can in fact be reliable evidence.

The method may be illustrated by starting with François Mazois, who was the most important of the illustrators of Pompeii in the early nineteenth century.[22] Whereas Gell's *Pompeiana* was the great popularization of Pompeii, Mazois inaugurated the scientific and systematic study of the ruins. His carefully measured drawings are frequently used, not only because of their value as historical documents, but also because of their accuracy and precision. His last trip to Pompeii was in 1819, and it was then that he must have executed his studies of the Temple of Apollo, excavated two years before.[23] These images were published as lithographs posthumously, in the fourth volume of his great work, *Les ruines de Pompéi*. If we look at his published elevation of the east wall of the sanctuary, the potential and the problems become apparent.[24] The lithograph shows the general appearance of the decoration of the wall, and the location of several figural paintings on the far left and far right. But when we zoom into those panels, all we see are the lines of the lithograph, like a pixellated digital image. Lithography has an inherently limited resolution, and it does not help that these were executed after Mazois' death by men who had never seen the original. Fortunately, however, the original watercolors from which the lithographs were executed are preserved in the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris.[25] If we look at the original, we see the same view in color and with considerably more detail (fig. 6). In the next chapter we will see what use can be made of enlargements of the areas which show the painted plaster.

Mazois is not the only, or even the best, architectural source for this temple. A stream of French architects who had won the Prix de Rome made their way to Pompeii and they sent back their work as *envois* to the École des Beaux-Arts. Many of these presentation drawings, including several of the Temple of Apollo, were included in an important exhibition in 1981 and its subsequent publication.[26] We should also mention the British architect John Goldicutt, who visited Pompeii after studying in Paris. The archive of the Royal Institute of British Architects preserves some useful drawings under his name, some of which were executed by an unnamed Frenchman. The most interesting document for our purposes, however, is an elevation of the same east wall of the sanctuary by Félix-Emmanuel Callet

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[22] On Mazois and Pompeii, see Mascoli 1981, 31–7 and Bouquillard 2000, 28–31.

[23] Mascoli 1981, 291.

[24] Mazois 1812–38, vol. 4, pl. 19.

[25] Some of Mazois' watercolors have been published in Bouquillard 2000, 34–48.

[26] Mascoli 1981.

(fig. 6). This was published in the catalog of the 1981 exhibition, but the particulars of the wall painting are far too small to be legible. Close-ups of the original reveal the he recorded even more detail than Mazois, though he was in Pompeii a few years later, as his drawing is dated 1823. As the editors of the volume of *envois* observe, an elevation of the same wall made by François-Wilbrod Chabrol a few decades later in 1867 can provide nothing more than eloquent testimony to the rapid degradation of the plaster.[27]

One objection that might be raised at this point is that these architects never intended the tiny details of their work to have such documentary value, and that they will have filled in these spaces with arbitrary brushstrokes rather than trying to represent the figural parts of the decoration accurately. Ultimately, the reliability of these architectural drawings on such small points of decorative detail cannot be proved in the general case. It is always possible that a given drawing might take liberties, and it is certainly true that some architects paid more attention than others. Scale also made a difference; some drawings allowed more scope for rendering detail than others. But we will see in the next chapter that there are some remarkable coincidences between the details of different architectural drawings and between these details and the images in Steinbüchel. More generally, it should be observed that these renderings tend to fall into two classes: drawings that show an ancient monument as it was, and on the other hand fanciful reconstructions of how the integral monument might once have appeared. The latter class of drawings are full of pure fantasy and frequently do invent spurious decorative details on a grand scale. One example was produced by Chabrol, but, as we have seen, there was little original plaster left in 1867 for him to work with.[28] It is true that architects sometimes mixed the two genres, showing some parts of an elevation as it was and other parts as it might be reconstructed, and we will encounter one such rendering by Mazois at the start of Chapter 3, but even there the boundary between documentary ruin and reconstruction is fairly clear.

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[27] See Mascoli 1981, pl. 18 and 19, with commentary.
[28] See Mascoli 1981, pl. 16.
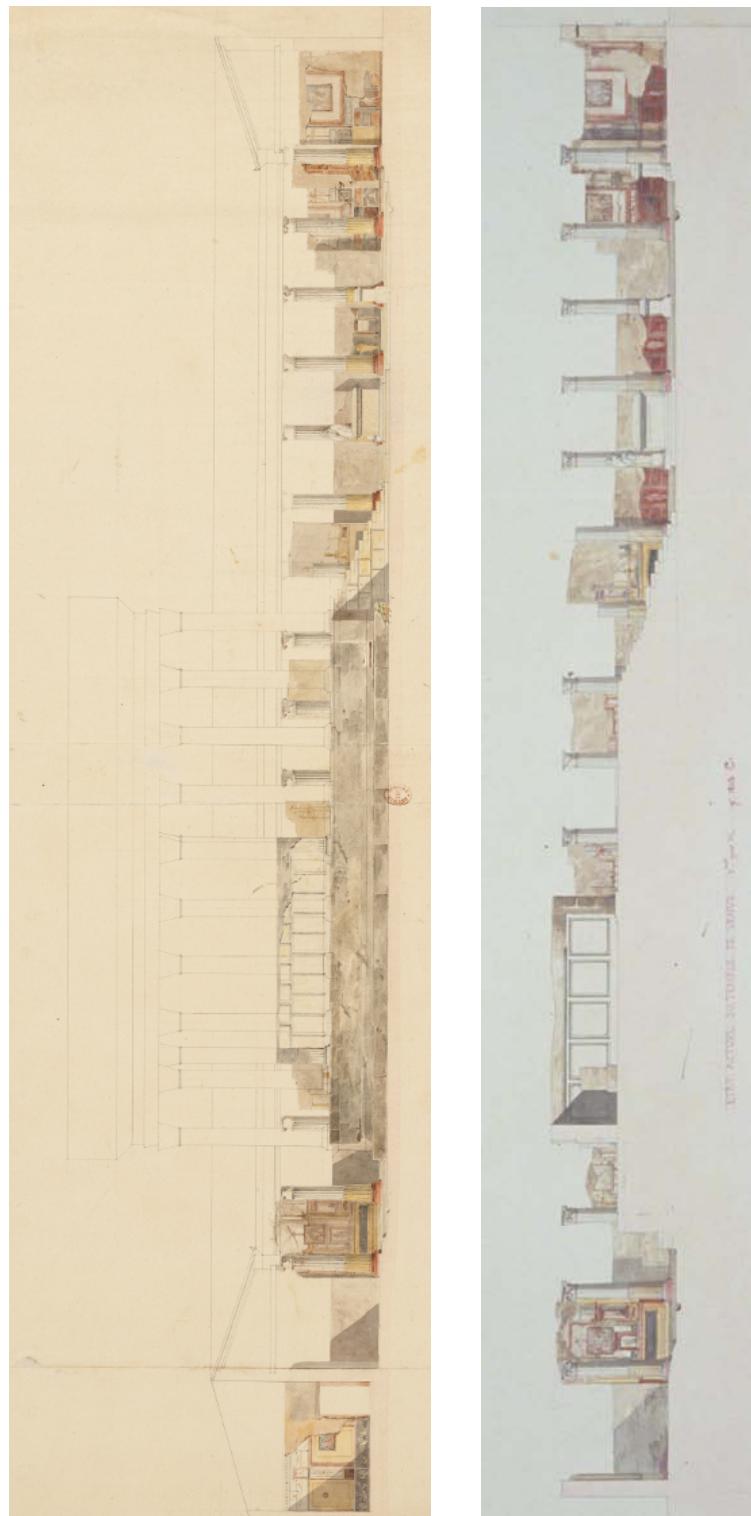
Figure 6: Two elevations of the east wall. On left, by Mazois from the archives of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. On right, by Callet from the archives of the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.

Another example of an architect who gives us both documentary evidence and speculative reconstruction is Luigi Rossini. He is most famous for his engravings of the antiquities of the city of Rome, but he also produced a volume of engravings of Pompeii. This was published around 1831, but he probably visited the site earlier than that, as he is the only witness to document one part of the wall decoration in the Sanctuary of Apollo. His first engraving of the Temple of Apollo belongs to the most popular type, which is a slightly romantic view of the ruins, as if emerging from the landscape, with figures strolling about. This is the sort of scene which is depicted in nearly every picture-book from the period: Gell, Mazois, Wilkins, and many, many others. Some of these give no hint of the presence of painted plaster on the portico walls; a few do give some very hazy indications of little use for the task of reconstruction. Rossini's view is the most detailed of this genre, for it shows a partial view of the pattern of breakage in the plaster on the rear wall, though nothing of the figural paintings themselves.[29] In another engraving, he gives a restoration of what the temple might have looked like, and here the Trojan pictures are represented by identical squiggles, which are clearly not meant to have any meaning.[30] By contrast, in another engraving, which we will later look at very closely, he records the exact state of preservation of an otherwise unattested figural painting (fig. 65). In captions and commentary, Rossini clearly identifies the difference between images of the monument "in its current state" and "as restored". The romantic ambiance of some of Rossini's lithographs and the fanciful invention of his restorations do not undermine the reliability of his testimony elsewhere, for he keeps these carefully distinct.

The Plastico di Pompei

Visitors to the Archaeological Museum in Naples are often struck by the sprawling and minutely detailed scale model of Pompeii which occupies a very large gallery. It was constructed on a scale of 1:100 out of cork, plaster and paint by Felice Padiglione in the period 1863–75 (fig. 7).[31] For our purposes, the interesting thing is that it shows us quite a bit of the painted decoration of the temple portico. Once again, we are dealing with reproduction on a very tiny scale, and the problem is compounded by the vast size of the model, which puts the viewer at a considerable distance. Fortunately, the temple is situated near enough to the western side of the model that the painting on the east wall of the portico is clearly visible; the orientation of the model also permits the spectator a reasonable view of most of the north wall. The south and west walls have much less painting on them, and what there is can only be seen with the aid of a telephoto lens, since one must

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[29] Rossini ca. 1831, pl. 43.
[30] Rossini ca. 1831, pl. 44.
[31] On these models, see Kockel 1993.

stand on one of the far distant sides of the model. The photographs reproduced here were taken under less than ideal conditions, and it is to be hoped that the museum will eventually publish comprehensive images of this unique resource, taken with proper lighting and at close proximity.

Figure 7: The 1:100 scale model of Pompeii in the National Archaeological Museum, Pompeii, with the Temple of Apollo and the Forum in the foreground; author's photograph.

Padiglione's model does not show much detail of the Trojan paintings themselves. These are represented by dark-colored squares, and it is difficult to make out any of the shadowy figures represented therein, though, as we will see, there is one possible exception. This does not make the evidence useless, however, for what the model does document exceptionally well is the decorative scheme of the portico as a whole. In the architects' elevations we have discussed previously, the view of the walls of portico is constantly interrupted by other architectural elements in the foreground, such as the columns of the portico. The cork model allows us to see around those obstructions, and it is particularly valuable in documenting the part of the north wall hidden behind the the temple podium. As our only comprehensive view of the whole monument, it is the best evidence for the unity of the decorative scheme into which the Trojan paintings were set. It can also show us what parts of the portico walls did have figural paintings which survived and this

can help to assess the probabilities of where to locate the evidence we have from other sources.

It is a striking feature of the model in the Naples museum that, although it is dated to the 1860s, it shows much more plaster surviving than one would expect from the state of the monument as witnessed in architectural drawings from the 1840s and after.[32] This fact is explained by the research into these models by Valentin Kockel, who has shown that the surviving 1:100 scale model of Pompeii by Felice Padiglione was based upon earlier 1:48 scale models, since lost, which were made by his father, Domenico, who was his predecessor as an official model-maker to the Royal Museum in Naples.[33] There is documentation indicating that such a model of the Forum and Basilica area was made around 1822–5, shortly after the excavation of that area; it is probable that the existing model was based upon it. This brings us closer in time to the period when the plaster was still legible, but it brings up the possibility that distortions and omissions may have been introduced in the process of copying and scaling down the model by a factor of approximately two. As we will see, however, the decoration of the existing model corresponds very well to the other evidence from the 1820s. It is important to note that these models were made with the explicit intention of preserving information about the exact state of the site, and are not contaminated by the instinct of the architect to reconstruct lost parts of the structure. As Kockel says, "strict attention was paid to documenting the condition of the ruins of Pompeii, rather than presenting a reconstruction of them."[34]

In providing our only clear visual representation of the north, west and south walls of the portico, the cork model also refutes the general opinion that the portico was uniformly decorated in the fourth Pompeian style after the earthquake. It is easy to see how this belief arose, for those who documented the portico were naturally drawn to the most detailed and elaborate part of the decoration. Thus both Rochette (fig. 5) and Mazois (fig. 35) devoted expensive color lithographs to illustrating different panels drawn from the fourth-style decoration. But on the east wall we will see that this variety of decoration was reserved for the large pillars; the niches formed by the walls connecting the pillars were decorated in a simpler style. This might be explained away as a mere example of variety within an overall fourth-style framework, except for the testimony of the cork model. There, we see that the three flat walls were also articulated into panels of different styles, and not always in strict alternation. In particular, the model of the north wall (see fig. 48) shows that the elaborate, illusionistic fourth-style panels were irregularly mingled with much simpler, flat panels in which the central figural painting is surrounded not by trompe-l'œil architecture but a plain white ground. This, as we will see

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[32] Compare Baldassarre et al. 1995, 801, Fig 29a (Veneri, 1843) and Mascoli 1981, pl. 18 and 19 (Chabrol, 1867).

[33] Kockel 2004, 144–9.

[34] Kockel 2004, 147.

when we come to discussing the chronology of the portico in Chapter 4, implies that what we have is a superimposition of two different chronological phases of the decoration.

Other Sources

In addition to the visual documentation provided by early visitors to the Temple of Apollo, there are also numerous textual accounts in early guidebooks. These usually mention the Trojan paintings as one feature of the sanctuary but never describe them in great detail. The most common subjects to be identified are: the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, the dragging of Hector's body by Achilles, and the ransoming of Hector's body by Priam. Other paintings are sometimes identified as showing the Greek embassy to Achilles, Achilles and Minerva, and the theft of the Palladium by Diomedes. These six identifications tended to be repeated in whole or in part, even as the paintings decayed. When the Niccolini brothers described the temple in 1862, they named those same six subjects, but spoke of them clearly as belonging to the past.[35] Unfortunately, none of the early guidebooks specify exactly the precise location of any of these paintings.

Figure 8: Detail of a print from nineteenth-century photograph (Brogi 5023A).

Other sources provide some small hints. Pompeii was often a subject of early photography, which might have offered another witness to the location of the Tro-

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[35] Niccolini and Niccolini 1854–96, vol. 2, 51.

jan paintings. Unfortunately, by the middle of the nineteenth century the paintings were already decaying, and photographers were content to show a general view of the sanctuary, with the portico walls largely obscured by the colonnade that stood in front of it, just as in the romanticized engravings of the previous generation. An example is a photograph from the studio of Giacomo Brogi which shows a bit of plaster on the far wall, beyond the temple (fig. 8). This is useful confirmation of the cork model, which shows a very similar pattern of plaster decoration in this position.

Finally, another important source for our knowledge about the sanctuary derives, of course, from the site itself as it stands today. But this can be deceiving. From the moment of its excavation, the site has been tidied up, restored and rebuilt. Most seriously, the temple was badly damaged by allied air bombardments in 1943, which destroyed a large part of the west wall and the northeast corner of the portico, and the apartment adjoining the north wall.[36] The structure as it exists today is therefore the result of successive phases of reinterpretation, from the moment it was excavated through to the twentieth century. This is particularly problematic for the location of the statues, altars and other such objects inside the portico. These were certainly tidied up somewhat, as can be seen most clearly in a plan by John Goldicutt, which shows the sanctuary as it was while still partially excavated.[37] It will have to be borne in mind that the objects may have been moved considerably from their find-spots.

Another problem is the status of the openings in the east wall into the forum. Many of the architects who are our early witnesses assumed that this wall was intended to be complete and that the gaps between the pillars were the result of damage in the eruption. Archaeological data has tended to confirm the common-sense observation that these pillars were part of an earlier phase of building.[38] The question of whether, when the present temple portico was constructed, the gaps in the pillars were filled in completely or in part is necessarily a difficult one, but further archaeological investigation may help to clarify it. Other important archaeological investigations have also been made around this area, which is one of the oldest cult sites in Pompeii. Most of this evidence pertains to the dating of the structure, which we will come to at the end of Chapter 4. The next two chapters will proceed roughly counter-clockwise around the walls of the sanctuary: we will begin with a reconstruction of the east wall, proceed to the north wall, and then consider paintings whose location is less certain.

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[36] See García y García 2006, 110–12.
[37] See Salmon 2000, 83, fig. 58, discussed in more detail below.
[38] See Dobbins et al. 1998, 755.
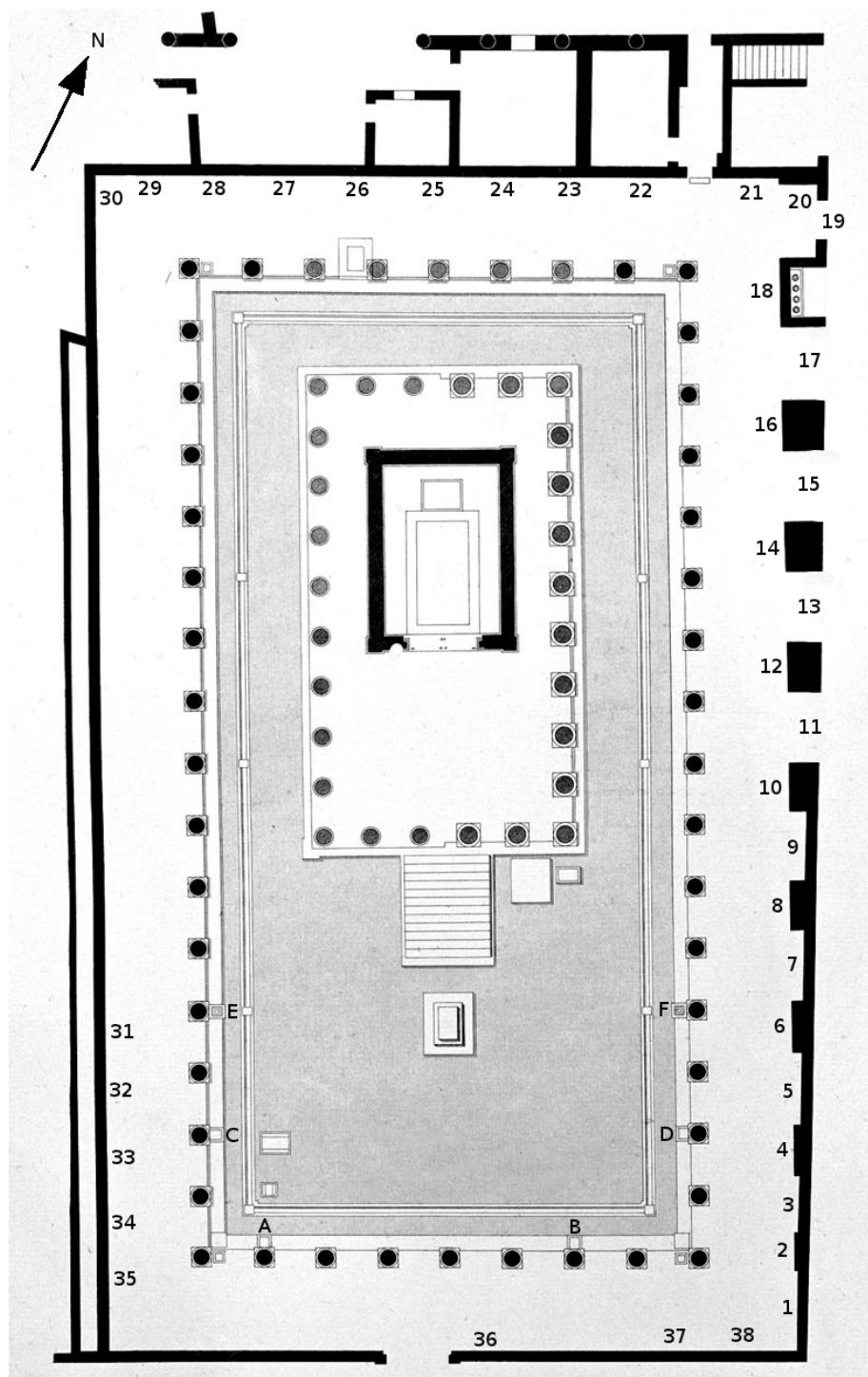
Figure 9: Plan of the Temple of Apollo, adapted from Mazois.

Plan of Artworks in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Pompeii
(fig. 9)

Statuary:

A Marble statue of Venus on base with effaced Mummius inscription
B Marble Hermaphroditus
C Bronze bust of Diana the Archer
D Bronze statue of Apollo the Archer
E Marble Herm?
F Marble Herm

Wall Painting:

1 Shallow niche: Calchas addresses Achilles; niche-style. See figs. 11, 12, 22 and 10.
2 Narrow pillar with a tripod; no figural painting; pillar-style modified on account of lack of width. See figs. 13 and 10.
3 Shallow niche: Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon; niche-style. See figs. 16, 17, 18, 15 and 10.
4 Pillar; no plaster surviving.
5 Niche; only bottom register of niche-style decoration survived. See figs. 42 and 6.
6 Pillar; no plaster surviving.
7 Niche; only bottom register of niche-style decoration survived. See figs. 43 (right side) and 42. fig. 6 shows the wall blank here, which must be an oversight.
8 Pillar with pillar-style decoration in the narrow variant (in which the figural painting is supported by a thin candelabrum rather than a mantel with a landscape beneath); here the plaster is broken off below the point where the figural painting would have been. See figs. 43 (left side) and 6.
9 Niche; only bottom register of niche-style decoration survived. See fig. 42 (left-most niche).
10 Pillar with candelabrum variant of pillar-style decoration; surviving plaster ended just above the bottom of the figural composition atop the central candelabrum. See figs. 42 (far left) and 41.
11 No wall; possibly left open as an entrance into the forum.
12 Pillar with candelabrum variant of pillar-style decoration; diagonal break across figural composition: Menelaus and Machaon? See figs. 32 (center) and 36.
13 No wall; possibly left open as an entrance into the forum.
14 Only the bottom register of pillar-style decoration is attested, showing black panel on yellow background. See fig. 31 (far right).
15 No wall; possibly left open as an entrance into the forum.
16 Pillar-style decoration, probably candelabrum-variant; what appears to be raw, unpainted plaster inside the frame where the figural decoration ought to be.

See figs. 31 (center) and 34; compare fig. 35, though it has the landscape-variant of the pillar-style; intended site for a re-mounted painting of Diomedes and Athena?

17 No wall; possibly left open as an entrance to the forum. See figs. 6 and 31.

18 Hollow pillar with *mensa ponderaria* within on the forum side; pillar-style decoration, wide variant with landscape view; the figural composition shows Diomedes wounding Aphrodite. See figs. 5, 31, 3, 26, 27 and 28.

19 Niche with a doorway into the forum.

20 Half-panel with a half-destroyed, small figural painting on a plain background. See figs. 14.

21 Half-panel with illusionistic decoration with some similarities to the pillar-style, but apparently without a figural centerpiece.

22 Panel with some similarities to the candelabrum-variant of the pillar-style, but uncertain if it held a figural painting. See fig. 14.

23 Niche-style panel. See fig. 48.

24 Blue-variant of the pillar-style. See figs. 48 and 35.

25 Niche-style panel, apparently largely intact. Possible location for the painting of the dragging of Hector's body. See figs. 48 and 53.

26 Niche-style panel. See fig. 48.

27 Blue-variant of the pillar-style. See figs. 48 and 35. Probably blank, though the space for the figural composition on the cork model seems to show a shadowy figure on the left (Hermes or Priam?). See fig. 44.

28 Niche-style panel. Most probable location for the painting of the supplication of Achilles by Priam. See fig. 48 and 54.

29 Probably niche-style panel (burial of Hector?). See fig. 49.

30 A small piece of terracotta embedded in plaster, perhaps a remnant of the *tegulae mammatae* on the west wall. See fig. 63.

31 Vestiges of a pillar-style panel. See fig. 58.

32 Vestiges of a niche-style panel. See fig. 58.

33 Vestiges of a pillar-style panel. See fig. 58.

34 Vestiges of a niche-style panel. See fig. 58.

35 Vestiges of a pillar-style panel. See fig. 58.

36 Niche-style panel. Probable location of painting of the handing over of the young Aeneas to Anchises. See figs. 64 and 66.

37 Vestiges of a niche-style panel. See fig. 64.

38 Niche-style panel. See figs. 64 and 10.

Chapter 2

Pompeii: The East Wall

The natural place to begin our discussion of the portico is the east wall, where Steinbüchel indicates that most of the Trojan pictures were found.[1] This wall was the most visually striking and architecturally complex part of the perimeter, for it incorporates a series of massive pillars which once must have belonged to a monumental entrance into the Forum. At a later point, the wall was created by connecting most of the pillars along their external side. In this way, the pillars were incorporated as piers into the interior so as to create a series of niches between them. This feature determined the design scheme for this wall and, as we will see, the pattern that was created to take advantage of this feature was continued on the other three walls. The east wall thus set the tone for the portico as a whole. Another distinctive feature of this wall is the way the size of the pillars increases from south to north, so that the niches grow progressively deeper. This is a result of the divergence of the axis of the temple from that of the Forum, which it predates.[2] The final pillar is a false one: it looks as solid as the others from the inside, but it is hollow on the forum side and provided a place to keep the *mensa ponderaria* for the official measures. The question of whether there was always an entrance to the Forum in the middle of this wall will be addressed below.

The east wall of the portico, then, presented the appearance of a series of alternating piers and niches. The design of the painted decoration took its cue from this physical articulation. In the niches there was a very flat, restrained design, which contrasted with a three-dimensional and exuberant scheme on the piers. The dominant effect in the niches was of large, flat panels of color with delicate ornament and a very limited use of perspective, whereas the piers took advantage of the way they were thrust into the interior by presenting a fully illusionistic impression of delicate architecture existing in three-dimensional space. The flatness of the niche-style decoration can be appreciated by examining the southeast corner of the cork model (fig. 10). On the left side of the image we see the first two

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[1] Steinbüchel, *Atlas*, notes to Tab. 8B, 8C and 8D: "Diese Gemälde befinden sich in dem, das eigentliche Tempelgebäude umfassenden Hofraume und Säulengange, an der Wand rechts vom Haupteingange …"

[2] Cf. Overbeck and Mau 1884, 636, n. 41 and Mau 1904, 49.

Figure 10: Detail of Plastico di Pompei, National Archaeological Museum, Naples: south-east corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo; author's photograph.

niches of the east wall, separated by a thin, shallow pillar (numbers 1–3 on Fig. 9); the right side of the image shows a similar frame on the south wall (number 38 on Fig. 9). Each niche had a figural composition or *pinax* at the center, all of which in this view are already destroyed; fortunately we have other evidence for these. Each of these figural panels was centered on a large white field surrounded by a thick red frame. This red frame rests upon a low, wide mantel, below which there is a bottom register in dark burgundy consisting of three panels with a figure at the center. To corroborate this evidence, compare the views of the first niche on the east wall given by Callet and Mazois (figs. 11 and 12). They differ slightly in the intensity of the color, but are in good general agreement on the details of the overall scheme. They also give a better view of the decoration along the sides of the large red frame. This makes moderate use of trompe-l'œil architecture in the upper part on the level of the figural tableau. But the general impression is of flatness and restraint, with the figural *pinax* floating in the middle of a very large white field.

Figure 11: Detail of fig. 6, showing the rightmost niche on Callet's elevation.

Figure 12: Detail of fig. 6, showing the rightmost niche of Mazois' elevation.

The decoration of the piers, on the other hand, is exuberantly three-dimensional and celebrates its own fictiveness. A small taste of this can be seen on the narrow pillar that separates the first two niches on the east wall (number 2 on Fig. 9: this is the pillar on the left of fig. 10). The cork model preserves enough to show that here was painted a perspective view of a tall, thin object, perhaps a tripod, standing in white space; Mazois gives a partial view of it, lurking behind the first pillar (fig. 13). This pillar was the narrowest of the series and it did not leave much scope for decoration and was not wide enough to accommodate a figural composition of its own. It is therefore unrepresentative of the other pillars except insofar as it has a similar style and color scheme. To get a sense of what the pillar-style of decoration looked like in its full elaboration, we can refer back to the color lithograph of Raoul-Rochette (fig. 5). As noted in the preceding chapter, there are some issues with the reliability of the central image, but it is a reasonable overall view of what the larger pillars looked like (as will be shown below, this is the northernmost pillar on the east wall: see the rightmost pillar in fig. 14). In the fully elaborated pillar-style scheme the figural composition is embedded in a much more elaborate design. The "painting" is in a illusionistic frame, apparently suspended from a faux ribbon attached to the wall high above and resting upon a mantel, beneath which there is a view into a distant landscape with an altar and a figure, perhaps a Priapus. This central part of the pillar is surrounded by a very elaborate architectural setting in which women, possibly Muses, are in attendance on either side. All this rests upon a light-yellow base in which a long black rectangle is set. Sometimes this black insert is rectangular, but sometimes its top rises slightly to a point at the middle; sometimes it is decorated, sometimes not.

It is perhaps not surprising that the decor should be tailored to the undulating nature of the east wall. What is more surprising is that an irregular alternation between plain niche-style and exuberant pillar-style segments was continued all around the perimeter, even on the other three walls which were perfectly flat. We will discuss that feature when we come to it in the next chapter; and in the chapter after that we will examine the possibility that this contrast ultimately derives from a distinction between the parts of the surviving, pre-earthquake, late second/early third style and the post-earthquake repairs and renovations in the fourth style.

We will begin our examination of the decoration of the east wall from its south end. Regardless of whether direct access to the Forum was maintained through the east wall, the principal entrance to the compound is in the middle of the south wall where it opens onto the Via Marina. This entrance lies on the axis of the temple, facing the steps up the podium and the entrance to the cella. Upon entering the sanctuary here, one sees the temple straight ahead with Vesuvius rising behind it. Standing in the portico, turning to the right, the visitor sees the southern end of the east wall, where we will begin. There are two good reasons to start here. Firstly, the evidence is such that we can reconstruct this corner of the portico with particular confidence. This will permit us to establish the general validity

Figure 13: Detail of fig. 6, showing the rightmost pillar on Mazois' elevation.

of a working methodology which can then be applied to the other parts of the sanctuary, where the evidence offers less in the way of independent sources of confirmation. Secondly, it will become evident that the painters themselves took this as an important corner, beginning the narrative of the *Iliad* here.

Achilles and Agamemnon

We will not begin with the very first niche on the east wall, but with the second, thus taking the first two Trojan paintings in reverse order. The reason for this is due to the plan of the temple in Gell's sketchbook and its annotations for the paintings at the southern end of the east wall (fig. 2). The southernmost annotation says unhelpfully "picture of . .". Apparently, Gell could not decide what this image represented; and little wonder. We will see in the next section that early visitors and later scholars have continued to be divided on this question. So we will leave this painting aside for the moment and start instead with the niche immediately to the north which Gell identifies positively (number 3 on Fig. 9). His caption reads "picture of Achilles Agamemnon Minerva". This corresponds to the sketch in that same notebook labeled "Agamemnon & Achilles" (folio 70). The reverse of the sketch reads:

> This is the picture of Achilles quarreling with Agamemnon in the temple once called the house of the dwarfs. It is almost ruined but this is what can

Figure 14: Detail of Plastico di Pompei, National Archaeological Museum, Naples: north-east corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo; author's photograph.

> be made of it. Don't lose it and if engraved do it smaller and rectify the feet where I could not distinguish.

This composition is more completely attested in the line drawing of the same painting given by Steinbüchel (fig. 15), for it limns the entirety of a composition that reappears in fragmentary form in smaller Trojan cycles from several other locations in Pompeii: the House of the Tragic Poet, the House of the Dioscuri and the House of Apollo; we will discuss those other houses in Chapter 4 below. The identification of the scene is clear by the way Athena/Minerva on the far right, distinctive in her helmet, holds back a warrior as he approaches the seated figure menacingly, just as he is in the process of drawing his sword out of his scabbard. It can only be the famous scene from the first book of the *Iliad* in which Athena stops the furious Achilles from killing Agamemnon.

To review the plot briefly, Achilles has summoned the Greek army to assembly to discuss the cause of the plague that has afflicted them, and Calchas explains that Apollo has been angered by Agamemnon's refusal to accept a ransom from the priest Chryses for the return of his daughter. Agamemnon angrily announces that he will compensate himself by taking a prize from another warrior; he trades bitter insults with Achilles and declares that he will take Achilles' prize, the slave-girl Briseis. At this, Achilles is on the point of violence (*Il.* 1.188–200):

> Ὣς φάτο· Πηλεΐωνι δ᾽ ἄχος γένετ᾽, ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
> στήθεσσιν λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν,
> ἢ ὅ γε φάσγανον ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ
> τοὺς μὲν ἀναστήσειεν, ὃ δ᾽ Ἀτρεΐδην ἐναρίζοι,
> ἦε χόλον παύσειεν ἐρητύσειέ τε θυμόν.
> ἦος ὃ ταῦθ᾽ ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
> ἕλκετο δ᾽ ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος, ἦλθε δ᾽ Ἀθήνη
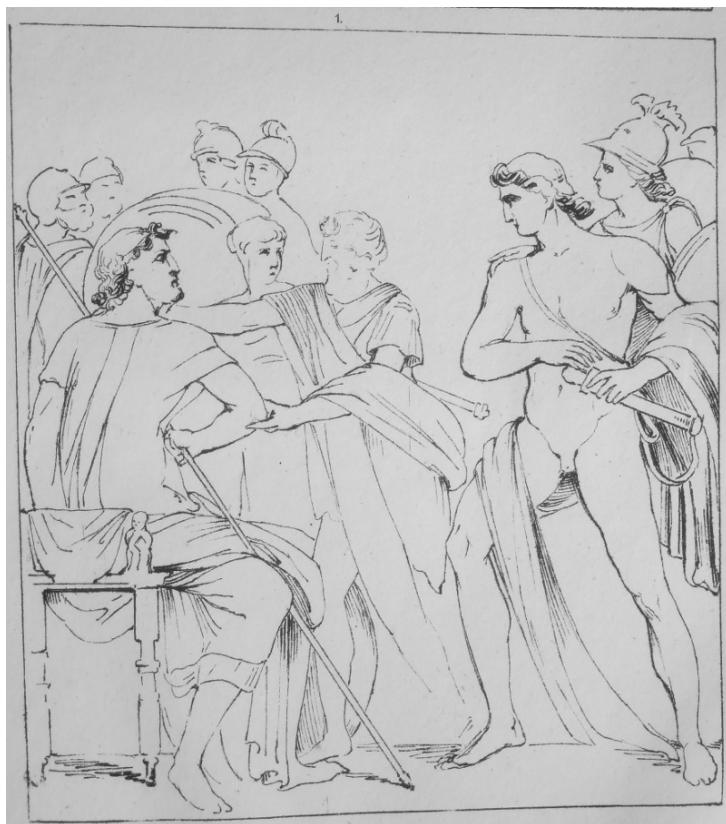
Figure 15: Steinbüchel, *Atlas*, vol. 8, pl. B.1

οὐρανόθεν· πρὸ γὰρ ἧκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,
ἄμφω ὁμῶς θυμῷ φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε.
στῆ δ' ὄπιθεν, ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἕλε Πηλεΐωνα
οἴῳ φαινομένη· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὔ τις ὁρᾶτο·
θάμβησεν δ' Ἀχιλεύς, μετὰ δ' ἐτράπετ', αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω
Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην·

So he spoke and grief came upon the son of Peleus, and within his shaggy breast his heart was divided in counsel, whether he should draw his sharp sword from his side and break up the assembly, and kill the son of Atreus, or whether he should check his wrath and curb his spirit. While he pondered this in his mind and heart, and was drawing his great sword from its sheath, Athena came to him from heaven, sent by the goddess, white-armed Hera, for in her heart she loved them both alike and cared for them. She stood behind him, and caught the son of Peleus by his tawny hair, allowing herself to be seen by him alone, and no one else saw her. And Achilles was struck with wonder, and turned round, and at once recognized Pallas Athena; and her eyes flashed terribly.

What we will do now is to develop a methodology for how we should look at the other visual evidence for this niche, secure in the knowledge that here, uniquely, we have independent and unambiguous confirmation of what was actually there. We can then move on to discuss with greater confidence other parts of the wall where Gell's notebook is not able to help us.

The most important witnesses to the appearance of the Trojan paintings *in situ* on the east wall are the elevations produced by Mazois and Callet. When we blow up the part of Mazois' original watercolor elevation of the east wall that ought to show us the second niche, the result is disappointing (fig. 16). A column blocks our view of the central vignette, though we do see some good evidence for the painted plaster that surrounded it. There is a rough similarity to the old photograph of the north wall (fig. 8) in that both show a thick, dark border on a light background which surrounds the central composition at some distance from it. Mazois displays some awkwardness in the draftsmanship: the wall panel fails to protrude from behind the right side of the column and it seems much too narrow to contain a figural composition. When we compare it with Callet's elevation, which does not put the column in this position, the reason for this awkwardness becomes apparent. An elevation is an orthographic projection, where the wall is supposed to be shown as if viewed from directly in front at every point simultaneously. The tension between this requirement and the fact that in practice an observer will sketch the wall from a finite and limited selection of viewpoints is what gives rise to the different treatment of the problem of parallax in Mazois' representation when compared with the supposedly identical view given by Callet.
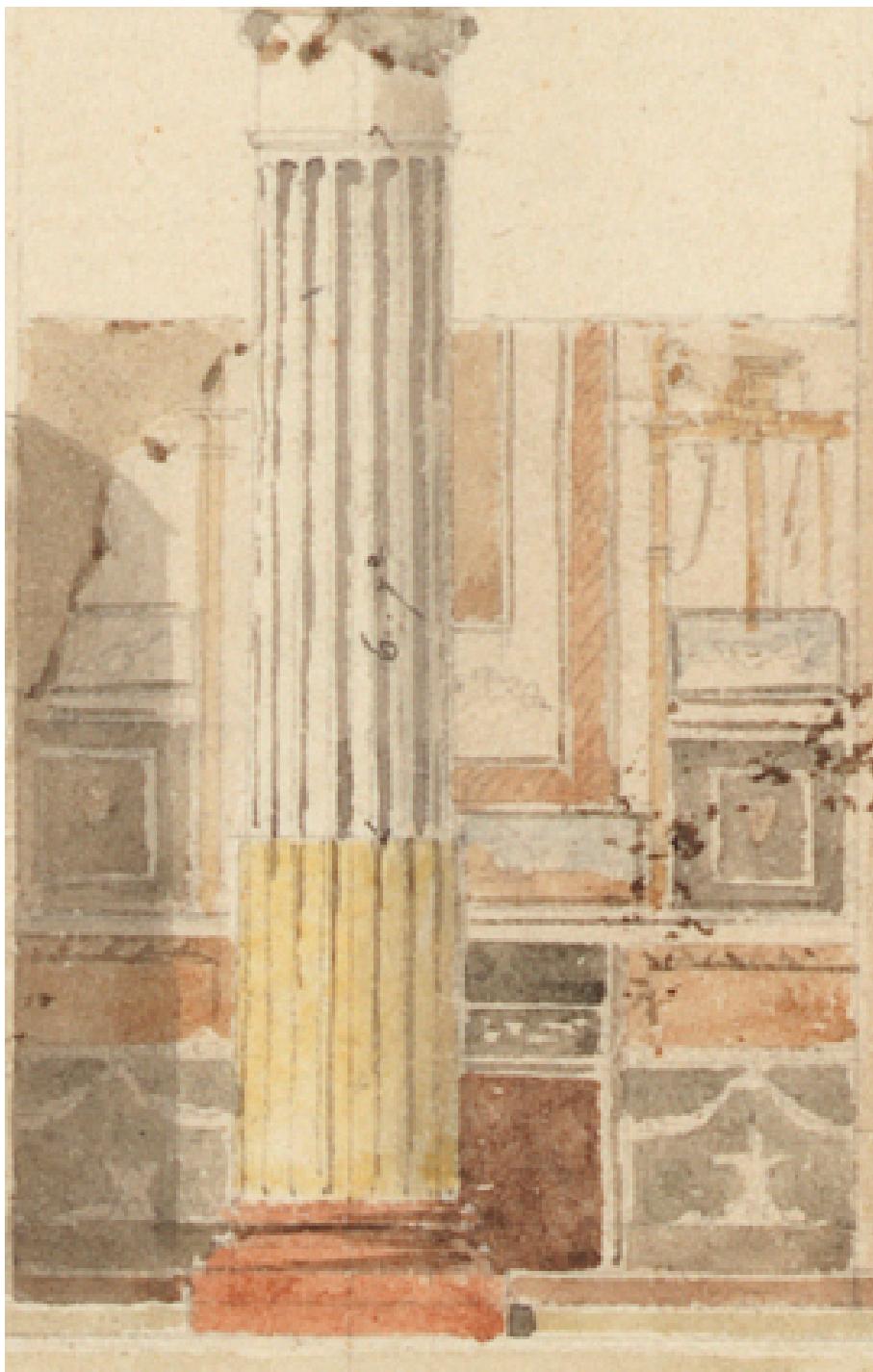
Figure 16: Detail of fig. 6, showing the second niche from the right of Mazois' elevation.

Figure 17: Detail of fig. 6, showing the second niche from the right on Callet's elevation.

When we look at an enlargement of Callet's elevation for this part of the wall, the column is happily no longer in the way (fig. 17) and the figural painting is given its proper, full width. As for the elements of pseudo-architectural painting they have in common, apart from the colors they are in remarkable agreement. Callet shows more detail, but they are clearly showing the same wall. In some cases, Callet can explain particulars that are obscure in the Mazois; for example, the faint scribble in the white field below the figural frame is revealed by Callet to be a garland. What is really interesting, though is the figural centerpiece. Figures are clearly discernible; we know from Gell that the painting that is supposed to be here is the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon; and we know what that painting was supposed to look like. Can we discern the outlines of that composition in Callet's shadowy figures?

Figure 18: Detail of fig. 17, showing the figural painting at the center of the second niche from the right on Callet's elevation.

We can enlarge the relevant detail still further to isolate the central painting (fig. 18); this allows us to compare it with Steinbüchel's drawing (fig. 15) of the painting that Gell's plan says was there. The match is excellent, bearing in mind how little space Callet was working with. One can clearly see on the right of Callet's representation the figure of Achilles, who is reaching across his body with his right hand to pull his sword out of its scabbard, which is marked by a dark line that

runs down and to the right from his left hip. Achilles' stance is unmistakable;
you can see his legs clearly and they are just as in the sketch: he stands with his
right leg forward and bent at the knee and his left leg straight back. There is a red
mass behind him, which corresponds to the cloak Achilles has over his left arm.[3]
Not much can be made out of Athena, but there is certainly a shadowy figure
behind Achilles on the far right where she should be. On the far left side of the
image, right where we expect to find the seated Agamemnon, Callet has shown the
outlines of his throne very clearly. There is an indistinct figure seated on it who has
a red cloak on his lap and seems to be wearing some sort of cap. Standing behind
Agamemnon, between him and Achilles, is a standing figure with another long red
cloak, who corresponds to the figure in the middle of Steinbüchel's drawing. The
other soldiers lurking in the background are not given much attention by Callet,
but that is understandable.

Figure 19: Detail of a line drawing of the *tabula Iliaca Capitolina* from Jahn,
Griechische Bilderchroniken (1873), pl. 1*.

The identifications of Achilles drawing his sword, Athena restraining him, and
Agamemnon on his throne are self-evident; but what of the standing figure be-
tween Achilles and Agamemnon? Even before we look at the details of Homer's
account of this scene, a very precise visual parallel can provide the answer. In 1894,
Brüning wrote an article in which he noted some close similarities between Stein-
büchel's drawings and the Trojan scenes represented on the so-called Iliadic tablets
(*tabulae Iliacae*).[4] These enigmatic tablets, which juxtapose engraved text and tiny
sculpted reliefs, narrate a variety of subjects; most but not all are from Homer.
As we will see as we proceed, the iconography of the paintings in the portico is

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[3] It is true that Gell makes this cloak blue in his sketchbook (folio 70), but, as we will see below,
there is other evidence to support Callet here: the detail of the red cloak is confirmed by the small
fragment of this composition that survived in the atrium of the House of the Tragic Poet.

[4] Brüning 1894.

closely related to that on the tablets, which will be an important clue to their common source. The largest and best known is the Capitoline tablet, whose visual treatment of the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon is, as Brüning noted, very similar.[5] Looking at Jahn's line drawing of the relief (fig. 19), we see that the four main figures are in the same configuration and the same poses, with a crowd of soldiers in the background. All are labeled: from the right of the figure we see the names of Athena (AΘHNA), Achilles (AXIΛΛEYΣ) and Agamemnon (AΓΓAMEMNΩN); squeezed in below the latter is the identification of the intermediate figure: Nestor (NEΣTΩP). This corresponds to Homer very well, for after Athena stays Achilles' arm he delivers a stinging diatribe to Agamemnon; at this point Nestor intervenes in a vain effort to make peace.

On the Capitoline relief, Achilles' legs are in the same distinctive posture as he reaches across his body for his sword; and Agamemnon is seated in the same orientation. It is harder to make out the details of Athena, but she does seem to be reaching out to put her right hand on Achilles' shoulder, as in Steinbüchel's drawing. Nestor appears to be bent over a bit in Jahn's interpretation of the relief: perhaps stooped with age, left hand on a walking-stick, or perhaps rising from his chair to speak. This is the only aspect of the composition that is not perfectly reflected in the Pompeian monument, but the artist of Steinbüchel's drawing, probably Morelli, seems to have hesitated over whether Nestor's face should be turned to Agamemnon or to us. Furthermore, his lower body is much less explicitly drawn than the other characters. If we remember how these drawings elide the distinctions between the well-preserved and conjectural parts of Morelli's originals, we can well imagine that the figure of Nestor, especially his lower body, derives from Morelli's hypothetical reconstruction. The iconographic link between this scene on the Capitoline tablet and these paintings cannot be doubted; it will prove crucial for identifying the topic of the painting in the adjacent niche.

Calchas and Achilles

It was because we had Gell's identification of the subject of the painting in the second niche of the east wall that we started our reconstruction of the portico of Apollo there. If we look again at his plan, we see that he also made an abortive effort to identify the painting in the first niche (number 1 on Fig. 9). The legend there reads: "picture of . ." (fig. 2). All we can conclude from this is that identification here was not straightforward. We must therefore turn to our less direct sources of information: architectural drawings. Fortunately, in this case both Callet and Mazois show us the niche, with no columns in the way. As before, Callet gives more detail, as can be seen from an enlargement of this area of his elevation (fig. 11). The pseudo-architectural painting within this niche is similar in style to the adjacent

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[5] Cf. *LIMC* "Achilleus" 543 (with drawing).

one, with the figural painting suspended on a light-colored ground surrounded by a thick, dark border. This is confirmed by Mazois' view of the same niche, similarly enlarged (fig. 12). Again, the motifs surrounding the central image are roughly the same, though the colors are a bit different and Mazois tends to simplify somewhat. Even though Callet's elevation is probably to be dated 5 years after Mazois', the pattern of breakage is roughly the same, so it seems that the plaster was relatively stable at this point in time.

Figure 20: Detail of fig. 11, showing the figural painting at the center of the right-most niche of Callet's elevation.

At first sight, the details of the figural composition at the center of the niche seem completely unintelligible. But if we further enlarge the details of the elevations of Callet (fig. 20) and Mazois (fig. 21), we can see that they have one very distinctive detail in common. They both show a large circular object in the bottom right corner. As it happens, one of Steinbüchel's drawings has this same feature. His sketch (fig. 22) shows a standing figure gesturing to the left while addressing a seated figure on the right. Whatever that soldier is sitting on is hidden from view by his shield, which occupies the bottom right of the painting. The two architects, in addition to showing that shield, also offer some other corroborating details. Mazois' simpler design clearly shows two main figures, both dressed in cloaks which

Figure 21: Detail of fig. 12, showing the figural painting at the center of the right-most niche on Mazois' elevation.

stand out against the light background. The one on the left is standing and the one on the right is seated. The drapery of the cloak on the seated figure is very like Steinbüchel's, running up from the knees to the shoulder, where a gap shows the soldier's left arm emerging; and that arm hangs down with the hand resting on the shield. Mazois' standing figure likewise has a knee-length cloak, but his dramatic gesture to his right cannot be discerned. In fact, Mazois shows that the plaster broke off just above the torso of the standing figure. His left hand seems to hold a staff which runs from his foot upward, slanting slightly to the right. This corresponds exactly to Steinbüchel's drawing, where, despite some awkwardness in the draftsmanship, it is clear that he is indeed holding a spear-like object in his right hand.

Callet's painting is much busier and harder to read; he seems to have made an effort to indicate not only the two main figures but also the other soldiers in the background. One can just about make out the outlines of the bent legs of the seated figure and the presence of a standing figure in the center. Callet shows an apparently complete figural painting, even though the elevation of Mazois shows
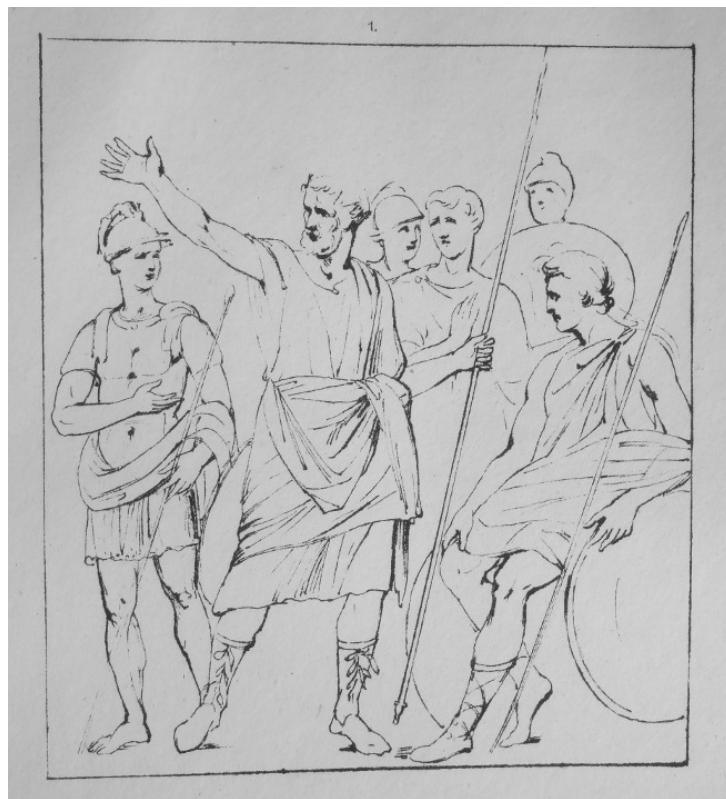
Figure 22: Steinbüchel, *Atlas*, vol. 8, pl. C.1

that the plaster had broken away at the top several years earlier. So the treatment by Callet must have entailed some speculative reconstruction.[6] This would explain why he does not show the standing figure gesturing to the left; if anything, he may be gesturing to the right. Steinbüchel apparently shows the whole painting, but we already know that his images also incorporate some speculative reconstructions. It seems likely, therefore that the top part of the painting was missing or poorly legible along with most of the standing figure's gesturing arm, just as Mazois attests. There must have been nevertheless enough there for Steinbüchel's artist, probably Morelli, to reconstruct the gesture.

Steinbüchel offered an identification of this gesturing figure as Nestor. It is not an implausible guess. The standing figure is clearly haranguing the others and Nestor certainly does a lot of talking in the *Iliad*. We have seen that Nestor appears in the adjacent scene, where he is about to intervene between Achilles and Agamemnon; Steinbüchel suggests that this is the subsequent moment when he

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[6] I owe this point to John North Hopkins.

stands up and urges reconciliation.[7] That identification would imply, wrongly as it turns out, that the narrative on the east wall of the portico ran from left to right. Other scholars, not knowing as Steinbüchel did the close connection with the scene of the quarrel and the first book of the *Iliad*, have suggested other identifications, such as Phoenix addressing Achilles as part of the embassy in the ninth book.[8]

Fortunately, another piece of evidence can solve the puzzle; once again, it is the same scene from the *tabula Iliaca Capitolina* that comes to the rescue. Look again at its representation of the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon (fig. 19). Just to the left of the seated Agamemnon is a standing figure, labeled as Calchas (ΚΑΛΧΑΣ). He gestures to the right and stands in the same posture as our figure. On the basis of this similarity of pose, Brüning argued that Steinbüchel's drawing shows us Calchas; he did not know that in Pompeii the paintings were adjacent, a consideration that makes his identification a near certainty. The main difference is that, in the temple, Calchas is on the right of the quarrel rather than the left, so the narrative reads in that direction: right to left. This suggests that the paintings were carefully arranged to have the *Iliad* begin with Calchas at the start of the long east wall.

It seems likely that this particular retelling of the *Iliad* begins with Calchas. The embassy of Chryses to the Greeks and the sending of the plague are both omitted. As we will see, this selectivity is typical of the portico, which was not large enough to narrate the whole story of the epic and so selected a few crucial episodes. The gesture of Calchas effectively alludes to the events that have gone before; on the Capitoline tablet he is gesturing at Apollo to explain the reasons for the god's anger, and we will see in a moment what he is gesturing at here in Pompeii. He addresses Achilles, reminding us that it was he who summoned the assembly (1.53–4), commanded him to speak and guaranteed his freedom to tell the truth without fear of repercussions from the powerful (1.85–91).[9] The painter then skips over Agamemnon's reply and the exchange of insults between him and Achilles, and goes straight to the next dynamic moment: after Calchas finishes his speech and sits down (1.101), there is no movement described until Achilles half-unsheathes his sword (1.194).

The close links between the two images and between them and the text of

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[7] His caption is: "the aged Nestor, as he urges calm and reconciliation upon the angry leaders" (*der Alte Nestor, die erzürnten Fürsten zur Ruhe und Eintracht mahnend*).

[8] E.g. Spinazzola 1953, 983. This identification seems to go back earlier: Niccolini and Niccolini 1854–96, vol. 2, p. 51 lists "l'ambasceria degli Achei ad Achille" among the subjects of the paintings in the portico.

[9] Thus Brüning 1894, 147 was wrong to suppose that we need to supply Agamemnon as addressee on the left, which also renders groundless the objection of Kossatz-Deissmann (*LIMC* s.v. "Achilleus" 436) to the identification of Calchas here because of the absence of Agamemnon. Calchas addresses the whole assembly; but it is Achilles who has commanded him to speak. It is only after the end of the speech represented here that Agamemnon bursts in angrily. See also Bulas 1929, 79–80.

Homer is evident in the way they represent one particular attribute. At the assembly of the Greeks summoned by Achilles, several references are made to the staff or scepter which was held by the person speaking as an indication that he had the floor: this culminates in the moment at the end of the assembly when Achilles swears a vehement oath by it (*Iliad* 1.234–9). This scepter must be the long, spear-like object Calchas is holding in his left hand. Its top is not visible, but at the bottom there is an ornament that seems out of place on a spear, and indeed the shaft held by Achilles has no such decoration. In the next image, Agamemnon holds a shaft which seems to have the same item on the top and bottom. Homer does not explicitly say that either Calchas or Agamemnon was holding the scepter when they were speaking at these precise points, but the artist has extrapolated from its use elsewhere in the assembly in order to emphasize the shift in speaker from one painting to the next. The continuity highlights the very different reaction of Achilles to the two speeches as reflected in the stark variation in his posture on the right of each painting. Listening to Calchas describe the cause of the plague, he reclines, confident and at ease; listening to Agamemnon say that he intends to compensate himself by taking Briseis, he leaps up, ready to strike. Achilles' shift from sitting to standing is emphasized by the way the sitting Achilles is juxtaposed with the standing Calchas, whereas the standing Achilles confronts a seated Agamemnon. The double transition from sitting to standing and vice-versa amid the continuity established by juxtaposing Achilles and a figure holding a staff creates a strongly dynamic narrative.[10] What episode the next niche would hold is not so easy to determine, but in a later chapter we will attempt to venture a guess.

Apollo the Archer

One consequence of inverting the direction in which we read the visual narrative with respect to the version on the Iliadic tablet is that Calchas no longer appears to be pointing at anything in particular. Looking again at the tablet, he is clearly gesturing to the prior scene to the left, which is labeled "plague" (ΛΟΙΜΟΣ: fig. 19). This is what he is telling Achilles and the rest of the Greeks about: Apollo has sent the plague in retribution for the dishonor they have shown to his priest. Homer represents this plague as arrows from Apollo (1.48–52):

> ἕζετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε νεῶν, μετὰ δ' ἰὸν ἕηκε
> δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ' ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο
> οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπῴχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς,
> αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφιεὶς
> βάλλ' αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί.

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[10] By way of contrast, consider the methodology of Rodenwaldt 1909, 229–30, for whom the phenomenon of juxtaposing a sitting and a standing figure is not the result of a Roman painter's compositional choices, but rather the sign of a Greek original shining through its degenerate Roman copy.

Figure 23: Reconstruction of part of the *tabula Iliaca Capitolina* from Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (1873), pl. 1.

> Then he [Apollo] sat down apart from the ships and let fly an arrow: terrible was the twang of the silver bow. The mules he assailed first and the swift dogs, but then on the men themselves he let fly his stinging shafts, and struck; and constantly the pyres of the dead burned thick.

The plague scene in the *tabula Iliaca Capitolina* shows a dog dying and a man in distress. It seems inevitable that it must also have shown Apollo the archer, but that cannot be discerned clearly in the line drawing. Jahn's reconstruction, however, does confidently include the god drawing his bow and it is at him that Calchas is gesturing, naturally enough (fig. 23). Apollo sending the plague against the Greek army by means of his arrows figures in two other Iliadic cycles in Pompeii.[11]

In our reconstruction of the Pompeian portico, however, Calchas seems to be pointing in the wrong direction, to the north, off into the future of the story, which makes little visual sense. At first glance this might seem the result of a careless adaptation of the original to its new context, but perhaps there is something else going on here. As it happens, there was indeed a representation of Apollo the fearsome archer near the portico of his temple; but it was not in a painting. In this part of the sanctuary there was a bronze sculpture of the god, known today as the *Apollo Saettante*, or Apollo the Archer. Today there stands a replica of the original, on top of its ancient base, which stands in front of the fifth column on the eastern side of the portico (number D on Fig. 9; see fig. 24). The result of this juxtaposition is that Calchas in the painting will have been gesturing, more or less, at the statue of Apollo standing in front of the first column (fig. 25). The photograph of the statue (fig. fig:apollo-statue-north) shows in the background the niche on which Calchas was painted and demonstrates the clear line-of-sight from one to the other. This interplay between the different elements in the temple's decor shows an impressive

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[11] See Spinazzola 1953, 908–10 and 976–7.

Figure 24: Photograph of the modern replica of the bronze statue of Apollo in its probable original position, with the first (Calchas) niche of the east wall in view behind it; author's photograph.

level of wit, and this kind of multimedia coordination suggests that the decorative program of the monument was very carefully thought out. It also indicates that the scenes from the *Iliad* represented here were not chosen at random. There is a density of emphasis on Book 1 which could not have been sustained for the subsequent 23 books. The first book may have been particularly familiar, but it also seems likely that this emphasis was due, in part, to the important role played by Apollo in this part of the narrative.[12]

This is not to say that the primary purpose of the bronze statue of Apollo was to play a role in the plot of the *Iliad* as articulated by the wall paintings. It may well have been an earlier dedication, pre-dating the existing walls (the date of the statue is not clear), which was only later moved into this position. That position is directly across the sanctuary from the matching statue of Artemis, also drawing her

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[12] As noted by Moormann 2011, 80.
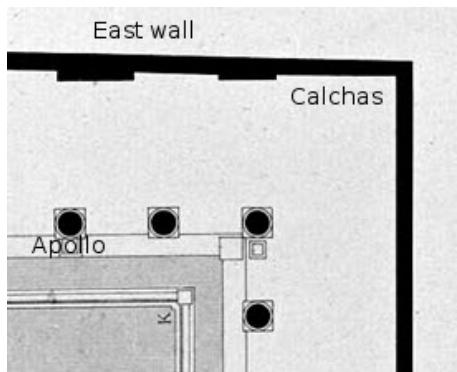
Figure 25: Detail of fig. 9, showing the position of the painting with Calchas relative to the position of the statue of Apollo.

bow. The statues of Apollo and his sister are clearly in close dialog, and they have often been taken to allude to their joint punishment of Niobe, killing her children for having boasted of being greater than their mother, Leto. It is not necessary to view these as mutually exclusive alternatives. It may be that the phase of decoration which introduced the Trojan pictures to the sanctuary alluded to the location of the statue of Apollo as a pre-existing element of its design. Or the statues may have been introduced to the sanctuary at the same time as the paintings. Or perhaps the statue was installed to accord with the gesture of Calchas during a subsequent phase of renovations. We will see in a later chapter that there is good evidence that the decoration of the sanctuary changed over time in such a way as to produce layers of meaning.

Since we are basing our argument on the precise location of the statue of Apollo the Archer, it should be noted that the statue was not found *in situ*. Nevertheless, there are grounds to be reasonably confident that the statue has been situated more or less correctly. Firstly, the statue of Artemis was, apparently, found in the sanctuary. The statue of Apollo is clearly its partner: the heads of both are identical, apparently cast from the same mold. Secondly, the distance between the attachments under the feet of the statue apparently was a precise match for the mounting hardware on the pedestal which was found (more or less) *in situ*.[13] This is not to say that the positioning of Apollo and Artemis, each standing on a pedestal on the step in front of the third column of the east and west side of the portico respectively, did not undergo a bit of tidying up.[14] Most early plans, including Mazois', show

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[13] This fact was discovered by David Saunders, who kindly communicated it to me; the report is in Overbeck and Mau 1884, 637, n. 45.

[14] Van Andringa 2012, 109 says of the statues that "their original location is far from certain," but it is not clear that he is aware of the information about the matching mount-points given by Overbeck and Mau.

the pedestals in their present position, but the plan which may claim to be the earliest tells a slightly different story. Frank Salmon, in his book *Building on Ruins*, reproduces a series of early plans of the Forum area; it is instructive to compare them. The first, by John Goldicutt, indicates with a green wash those areas that are incompletely excavated; this includes most of the Temple of Apollo.[15] What is curious is that at the southwest corner there are two dotted circles appearing among the columns. None of the subsequent plans show anything in these precise positions. Instead, there is a collection of altars and statues in the southwestern corner, all positioned very neatly: Artemis in front of the third column of the west side and a marble statue of Venus in front of the second column of the south side. One suspects that the circle almost but not quite in front of the third column on the west side is the original find-spot of Artemis and that the circle between the first and second column on the west side is the original find-spot either of the statue of Venus or of one of the altars from that corner of the sanctuary. This is hardly surprising: the eruption of Vesuvius, the associated seismic activity, and hasty human intervention at that time all left a city that was quite a mess. But if we allow for a bit of tidying up, it is likely that the current position of the modern replica of the statue of Apollo is correct.

Diomedes and Aphrodite

We have now established the nature of the first two Trojan scenes on the southern end of the east wall, but as we move northward the evidence immediately becomes scantier. So what we will do now is to skip to the far end of the wall and pick up our discussion with its northernmost painting. Once we know how the narrative of the wall begins and ends we will be in a better position to reconstruct the middle. On the right side of the photograph of the northeast corner of the cork model, we can see clearly that the last pillar, which is the hollow one that housed the *mensa ponderaria* on the other side, had a great deal of plaster remaining (fig. 14; number 18 on Fig. 9). It is decorated in a much different style to the two niches we have examined so far: this is a full elaboration of the motif we have called the pillar-style; at its center there is an apparently well-preserved figural painting. Both Mazois and Callet show this last wall-pillar without any obstruction in the way (fig. 6). When we blow up the detail of Mazois' elevation, we see all of the features we expect of the pillar-style (fig. 26). We can make out a bit of the figural composition, but not very much; there seems to be less care taken here than in Mazois' version of the Calchas-painting. There is markedly less color and the two figures are rather shadowy. On the left is a figure leaning forward, one leg straight back, the other

[15] See Salmon 2000, 82–5; Goldicutt's plan of 1816 is his fig. 58. He also shows (his fig. 59) a plan of 1818 in which the Artemis appears to be missing, which may be a simple error, as the other statues are in their subsequent positions.
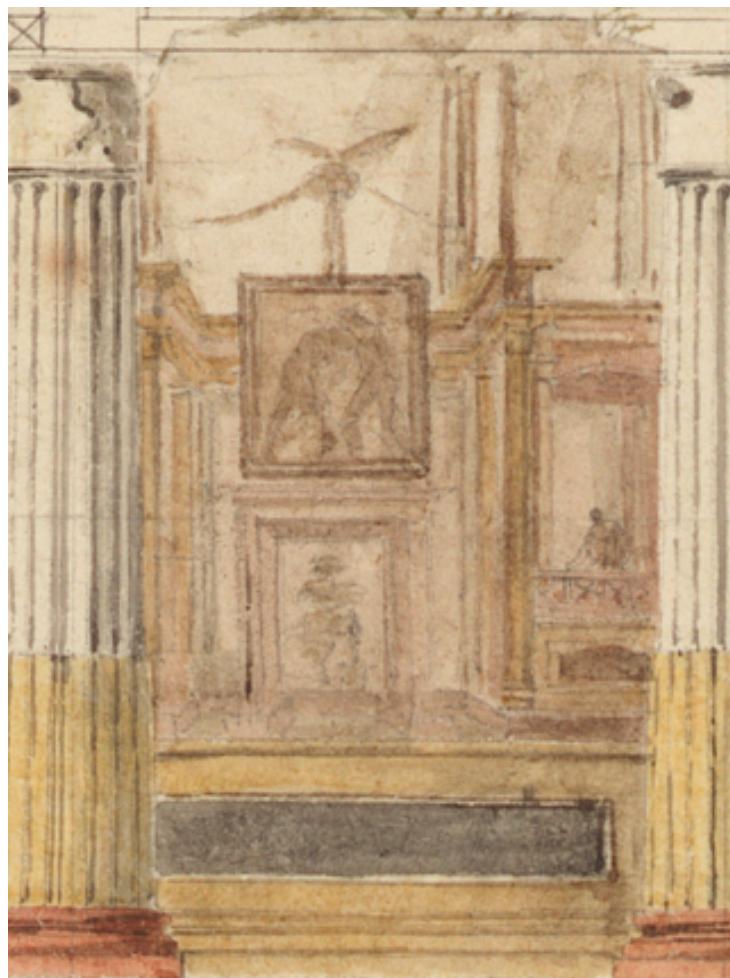
Figure 26: Detail of fig. 6, showing the leftmost pillar of Mazois' elevation.

leg bent forward. He is possibly grappling with the figure on the right, who is in a similar but slightly more upright stance. There is not much here to work with, but, fortunately, Callet makes up the deficit.

Figure 27: Detail of fig. 6, showing the leftmost pillar of Callet's elevation.

Figure 28: Detail of fig. 27, showing the figural composition at the center of the leftmost pillar on Callet's elevation.

If we blow up the detail of Callet's elevation here, we are immediately struck by the comparative wealth of detail and color in its representation of the pillar-style trompe-l'œil architecture (fig. 27). Zooming in still further, we immediately see three or four figures rather than Mazois' two (fig. 28). On the extreme left there are one or more figures in red. Toward the center is another figure; this one has legs that are clearly defined in blue. One is straight and extended to the rear; the other is bent forward. This posture would seem to correspond to the figure on the left of Mazois' version. On the right is a standing figure with some relationship to something like a shield; this presumably corresponds, though not very well, to the figure on the right of Mazois' image. For our purposes, the crucial identifying feature is the central figure with the blue-green strokes that represent his bronze greaves, or leg-armor. In the last chapter, we looked at the origins of the line drawings of Steinbüchel and posited that they probably derived from the work by Francesco Morelli, the official artist of the excavations. We now turn again to his a pencil and tempera drawing of Athena encouraging a warrior (fig. 3), who is wearing greaves which are a similar shade of blue-green. The figure is similarly positioned in the center-left of the composition, and the posture of the legs is identical. In both images,

the right leg of the soldier extends straight back from the torso toward the lower left corner of the painting, while the other leg is drawn up in front of the body, bent up at the knee. In both images, the torso leans back to the left while holding a circular object, presumably a shield, in front. We must bear in mind that the parts of Morelli's image that are most securely attested are shown by the use of color in tempera, while his guesswork is sketched lightly in pencil. Thus the lower body of the central warrior, along with Athena behind him, is the most likely to be correct, and this is precisely where Callet agrees. By looking at the paintings of Calchas and the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon, we established the basic reliability of the details of the figured panels in Callet's elevation. As in those cases, we have here a few crucial details that permit us to establish the position on the east wall of a composition which is attested by other sources. The important difference here is that Callet disagrees somewhat on the composition of the right side of the painting, for reasons which will now become clear.

A version of this Trojan painting is shown in Steinbüchel's *Atlas* (fig. 4). He suggested that the scene shows Athena encouraging Diomedes. Other scholars have disagreed, interpreting the warrior in this scene as Achilles.[16] Our new discovery of the location of this painting suggests that Steinbüchel here was correct, for the painting appears on the same wall as the beginning of the *Iliad*, which suggests that Diomedes in Book 5 is a more likely candidate than, for example, the scene near the end of the epic where Athena helps Achilles in his final combat with Hector. What did Steinbüchel see that made him come to the correct conclusion? His line drawing has nothing to suggest Diomedes. As we have seen, both Steinbüchel's image and that of Raoul-Rochette (fig. 5) followed Morelli's hypothetical reconstruction of the right side of the painting, but elided the difference between the well-attested parts of the painting in tempera and his guesswork in pencil. But the right half of Morelli's hypothesis is implausible. The left side of the painting is full of action: Athena gestures dynamically to the warrior who is about to throw his spear. By contrast, the right side of Morelli's version is pointless. Several warriors mill about aimlessly. The one in the foreground, with his back to us, contributes nothing. And what is he doing with his left arm? He seems to be holding two shields, one above his elbow and the other in front of him.

Let us contrast the weaknesses in this erroneous reconstruction with the pair of paintings we have examined previously. In the first of those, the standing Calchas gestures dynamically to the casually reclining Achilles and, in the next scene, Achilles has leaped to his feet to confront the seated Agamemnon. In both of these compositions there is a very strong tension and contrast between figures on either side of the painting. The left side of our new painting clearly belongs to this series. Athena appears behind the active warrior, but this time she urges him on rather than restraining his violence, as she does with Achilles; this switch of roles is echoed in

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[16] E.g. Fiorelli 1875, 239, Bulas 1929, 106 and Schefold 1957, 192.

Figure 29: Detail of a line drawing of the now-lost Sarti *tabula Iliaca* from Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (1873), pl. 2.

the way she now stands at the far left rather than the far right. So we should expect that the other side of the painting holds a figure in narrative tension and visual contrast, not a mob of bystanders. Who is the warrior aiming at? Morelli would have him throw his spear out of the frame, into empty space. This seems strangely lacking in point. By contrast, Callet seems to show someone carrying something or someone on the right side of the composition. But who? Once again, Brüning has identified the crucial parallel in the *tabulae Iliacae*.[17] Unfortunately, the part of the Capitoline tablet that would have depicted this scene has not survived, so we must look instead to other tablets. Several of them show the episode in Book 5 of the *Iliad* when Diomedes wounds Aphrodite as she attempts to rescue her son Aeneas. The Sarti tablet has been lost, but its contents are known from a drawing, and it affords a particularly clear view of this scene (fig. 29).[18] Here we see Athena (not labeled) standing behind Diomedes and reaching out to encourage him with her right arm, just as in Morelli's painting. Diomedes is standing in that same, distinctive posture: his right leg drawn straight back behind him, foot and knee twisted toward the viewer; left leg raised forward, bent at the knee, foot elevated. The key difference is that the Sarti tablet shows us why that foot is up in the air: it is resting on the neck of a dead Trojan, Pandarus.

In this light, several peculiarities in Morelli's reconstruction stand out. The tiny head of the warrior is completely out of proportion with the torso. His posture is wrong for a warrior about to hurl a spear: he holds the weapon at chest height, next to his body. To throw it effectively, the hand should be above the shoulder, not below it and off to the side. Once again, the Sarti tablet explains the problem. Diomedes holds his spear with an overhand grip, not underhand, as Morelli had tentatively guessed in pencil. The spear is down low, next to his body, because he is using it as a thrusting weapon; he is not trying to throw it. The end of the spear

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[17] Brüning 1894, 148.
[18] *LIMC* s.v. "Achilleus" 459 (with drawing).

ought therefore to be threatening or indeed be stuck into the body of an enemy, and this is the sort of thing we ought to find on the right side of the painting, not a group of Greek soldiers idling about. The Sarti tablet tells us who was at the receiving end of Diomedes' spear: Aeneas. Or, rather, he is one of the two figures at the right side of this composition. The other is not labeled, but her presence can be deduced from the flowing robes into which the sharp end of Diomedes' spear disappears: Aphrodite, mother of Aeneas.

The scene on the tablet depicts with great precision the moment in the *Iliad* when the goddess is wounded. Aeneas and his companion Pandarus confront Diomedes and Sthenelus. Pandarus exchanges spear-throws with Diomedes, which results in the death of the former. Aeneas approaches to prevent the body of his friend from being taken away, but Diomedes throws a massive stone which gravely injures Aeneas (*Il.* 5.311–7):

> Καί νύ κεν ἔνθ᾽ ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας,
> εἰ μὴ ἄρ᾽ ὀξὺ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη
> μήτηρ, ἥ μιν ὑπ᾽ Ἀγχίσῃ τέκε βουκολέοντι·
> ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἑὸν φίλον υἱὸν ἐχεύατο πήχεε λευκώ,
> πρόσθε δέ οἱ πέπλοιο φαεινοῦ πτύγμ᾽ ἐκάλυψεν
> ἕρκος ἔμεν βελέων, μή τις Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων
> χαλκὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βαλὼν ἐκ θυμὸν ἕλοιτο.

> And now would the lord of men, Aeneas, have perished, had not the daughter of Zeus, Aphrodite, been quick to notice, his mother, who conceived him to Anchises as he tended his cattle. About her dear son she flung her white arms, and in front of him she spread a fold of her bright garment to be a shelter against missiles, lest any of the Danaans with swift horses might hurl a spear of bronze into his breast and take away his life.

Earlier, when Athena gave Diomedes the ability to discern mortal from immortal, she gave him explicit permission to wound Aphrodite (*Il.* 5.130–2). Accordingly, Diomedes presses on (*Il.* 5.334–9):

> ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δή ῥ᾽ ἐκίχανε πολὺν καθ᾽ ὅμιλον ὀπάζων,
> ἔνθ᾽ ἐπορεξάμενος μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱὸς
> ἄκρην οὔτασε χεῖρα μετάλμενος ὀξέϊ δουρὶ
> ἀβληχρήν· εἶθαρ δὲ δόρυ χροὸς ἀντετόρησεν
> ἀμβροσίου διὰ πέπλου, ὅν οἱ Χάριτες κάμον αὐταί,
> πρυμνὸν ὕπερ θέναρος· ῥέε δ᾽ ἄμβροτον αἷμα θεοῖο
> ἰχώρ, οἷός πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν

> But when he caught up with her [Aphrodite] as he pursued her through the great throng, then the son of great-hearted Tydeus thrust with his sharp spear and leaped at her, and cut the surface of her delicate hand, and immediately through the ambrosial raiment, which the Graces themselves had toiled over making for her, the spear pierced the flesh on the wrist above the palm, and out flowed the immortal blood of the goddess.

Due to pressure of space, the Sarti tablet does not explicitly label either Athena or Aphrodite, but their presence here is certain. Athena is clearly visible, while Aphrodite is represented by the voluminous garment in which she has wrapped herself and Aeneas, which is emphasized so clearly in the two Homeric passages above. Another of the *tabulae Iliacae*, the first Verona tablet, gives a view of Diomedes wounding the goddess, but without labeling the participants (fig. 30). This confirms the arrangement of figures, particularly the distinctive posture of Diomedes' legs, with one of them resting on the corpse of Pandarus. Brüning adduces another piece of evidence which does label Aeneas' mother, a clay seal showing Diomedes stabbing Aphrodite (labeled), as she attempts to support her son.[19]

Figure 30: Detail of a line drawing of the first Verona *tabula Iliaca* from Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (1873), pl. 3.

We are now in a position to revisit the version of this scene found in the Pompeian portico. We have seen that Morelli's tentative reconstruction of the right side of the composition is unreliable, despite being copied by Steinbüchel and Raoul-Rochette, and that Mazois' view of it is too murky to help much. When we look at Callet's elevation, however, the match with the *tabulae Iliacae* is striking. As we have seen, the left side matches perfectly, with Athena behind Diomedes, whose legs are in the usual posture. But look underneath his raised foot. Whereas Morelli had it hanging pointlessly in the air, Callet shows a body extending out from it, up and to the right. We can see two arms, the left foreshortened and the right horizontal in the foreground. The rest of the body extends indistinctly into the background to the right. Another feature of Diomedes' posture on the tablets is the way he raises his shield on his left arm as he stabs with his right. There may be an elevated circular object in front of Diomedes in Callet's view, which would

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[19] Brüning 1894, 148, fig. 10, which is drawn after *Wiener Vorlegeblätter für archaelogische Übungen* 1889, pl. VIII, fig. 5. It appears likely that the object was lost when the Reims archaeological museum was destroyed by a German bombardment in 1914: Jadart 1914, 593.

correspond to the shield. Morelli seems to show two shields: one rendered in pencil on Diomedes' arm, and just below that another outlined in pencil and partially painted in. This doubling seems to be a symptom of Morelli's difficulty in getting the scale of Diomedes' body correct when connecting the lower half to the upper.

Turning now to the figures on the right margin of Callet's view of the painting, we can clearly see that he meant to show two figures here: one carrying another. The head, torso and two legs of the standing figure are clearly shown. It is a bit harder to make out the other one, whose horizontal torso crosses in front of the torso of the upright figure. The legs of this helpless person are squeezed a bit by the frame, but can be seen dangling next to the right edge, where they descend alongside the legs of the standing figure. The upper part of the horizontal body is obscured by a semicircular object, which in this context must be a shield. Given what we know about the parallels, this must be Aphrodite attempting to rescue her son; the goddess is the target of Diomedes' spear-thrust.[20] There are two main differences from the other versions of this composition we have looked at. The first is the presence of Aeneas' shield instead of his mother's ambrosial, Grace-woven garment. These are not incompatible, however, and Homer makes it clear that Aeneas kept his armor even when his mother dropped him after being wounded and he was rescued again by Apollo; for he says that even then Diomedes continued to try to strip his armor (*Il.* 5.435). The second difference is that Aphrodite seems here to be carrying Aeneas, whereas, in the other versions, he is on the ground, staggering, but supported by his mother. It may be that the painter of the Pompeian version took a different approach, or it may be that Callet had similar difficulties to Morelli in reconstructing this part of the painting, which, remember, was singled out by Steinbüchel as being in a poor state of preservation. Several years later, when Callet visited, it will have decayed even more. We saw with the Calchas painting that Callet was willing to indulge in some speculative reconstruction of the wall painting, and he must have done so here as well. The parallels show that his deductions in this case were more accurate than Morelli's.

Entrances to the Forum

Now that we have established what was the subject of the northernmost Trojan painting on this wall, we can work our way southward to examine the middle. As we will see in a moment, we can say something about the decoration of the other pillars in the northern half of the wall, but, with respect to the niches between, we cannot even be sure they existed. The sanctuary in its present state has no walls at all between the pillars in the northern half of the wall. It is very hard to know how many of these gaps, if any, were left deliberately open when the southern pillars were joined together. Some of the evident gaps may have been due to seismic

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[20] See Brüning 1894, 148 and Six 1917, 189.

damage rather than deliberate omission. Furthermore, the north-east corner of the building was destroyed by allied bombing in 1943 and subsequently rebuilt, so its present appearance should be taken with a grain of salt. There is clear evidence of sills which served as steps into the Forum, but that is not very helpful either. The pillars are most likely a vestige of an earlier monumental entryway into the Forum and could still retain elements of that former usage even if subsequently blocked off.[21]

Figure 31: Detail of Plastico di Pompei, National Archaeological Museum, Naples: northern end of the east wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo; author's photograph.

Figure 32: Detail of Plastico di Pompei, National Archaeological Museum, Naples: middle of the east wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo; author's photograph.

In marked contrast to the state of the east wall today, the evidence of nineteenth-century architects seems to indicate unanimously that all of the pillars were connected in such a way that there was no direct access to the Forum at all through this wall. Mazois' plan of the temple (fig. 9), his elevation (fig. 6), Callet's elevation (fig. 6) and the cork model (figs. 31 and 32) present us with a clear picture of an unbroken, half-height undecorated wall filling in all of the spaces between the pillars in the northern part of the wall. The first problem with this apparently

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[21] See Dobbins et al. 1998, 752.

straightforward testimony is that Mazois contradicts himself. Whereas his plan of the temple has an unbroken wall, his larger plan of the general Forum area shows a doorway into the Forum in middle of the northernmost niche (fig. 33; number 19 on Fig. 9). We get independent confirmation that there was a narrow doorway here in another early plan of the forum area, drawn by John Goldicutt in 1816.[22] Admittedly, Goldicutt's plan has some bad inaccuracies (the thickness of the pillars is uniform and the axes of the sanctuary and forum are parallel), but he is unlikely to have indicated the same feature as Mazois by pure accident.
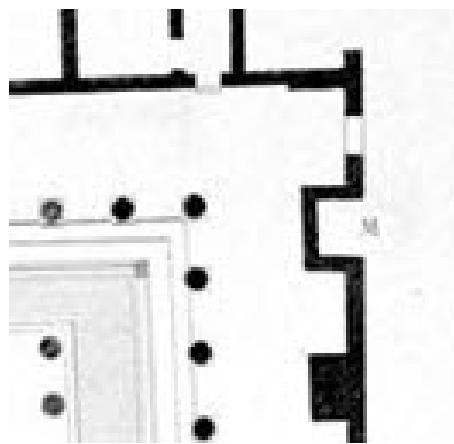
Figure 33: Detail of Mazois' general plan of the forum area, showing north-east corner of the sanctuary of Apollo; Mazois 1812–38, vol. 3, pl. 14.

The problem is that all of the early architectural plans assume to a greater or lesser extent that the intention was always to seal the sanctuary off from the adjacent Forum. The architects thus tended to assume that the parts of the wall which they found missing had been destroyed by seismic activity and accordingly reconstructed walls there. Hence the disagreement over the presence of deliberate gaps in the wall, even in plans drawn by the same hand. A very different view of the original state of the east wall is given by the rough plan in Gell's sketchbook, which shows no wall surviving between any of the pillars in the northern half of the wall (see fig. 1). On the other hand, it goes too far and wrongly shows one gap where we know that part of a wall has survived (number 9 on Fig. 9). In this case, the roughness of Gell's plan may be an asset, in that he did not bother to tidy up the architecture, putting in walls where his own judgment thought they ought to be.

As a compromise between the two extremes of a continuous wall and no wall at all in the northern half, Mau asserts that three and only three spaces between

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[22] Shown by Salmon 2000, fig. 58, p. 83; for a contemporary plan that shows no doorway here, compare his next figure (fig. 59, p. 85).

pillars were left open (numbers 11, 13 and 15 on Fig. 9), which seems plausible enough at first sight.[23] But it seems very likely that he was basing his judgment that "they were all walled up except the three opposite the side of the temple" on Mazois' lithograph of the east wall elevation, which is demonstrably unreliable in this regard as it wrongly reconstructs at least one wall segment where, by his own testimony elsewhere, there was a doorway. It is a bit suspicious that Mau is confident that there existed wall segments in all places except in precisely those places where his view of it in the early elevations was obstructed by the podium.

Our suspicion that the temple plan in Gell's notebook, precisely because of its lack of polish, is closer to what was really found, can, in fact, be supported. There is a note on the back of a drawing from that same notebook which gives a series of measurements Gell made of the Forum (fig. 51). He began at the southwest corner, and proceeded up the west side, past the Basilica and then past the outer wall of the Temple of Apollo, marking distances "with a 50 foot line, beginning at SW angle". For each 50-foot segment, Gell recorded what he found to the immediate right and left. At first, he tried to record the distances of each object from the start of the 50-foot segment, but then he gave up. In the fourth segment we have "on L[eft] begins the great steps to cell of T[emple of] Bacchus". Then, as if realizing that he should note why it is that he can see this from the Forum, the next entry is "Cell of Bacchus and an opening to it having passed 3 ditto. 7 openings in all". The "opening to it" is a gap between the massive piers, and there were three others before that which permitted Gell to see the steps up to the podium. In the fifth segment, he notes the presence of the "last pier of T of Bacchus", in which the *mensa ponderaria* was kept. After that, he says, "there is another opening yet to T of Bacchus". This confirms that the last niche did indeed also have a doorway into the Forum. The picture that emerges is that there was one gap with three others before that, then another, thus giving five gaps in the east wall, which is what exists today. Gell says "7 openings in all", because he adds the other two openings in the portico wall: the main entrance on the Via Marina and the small doorway into the private apartment along the north wall. There is another plan in that same notebook, which is much more polished than the crude plan of the temple and which shows the larger forum area.[24] This clearly shows the five expected gaps between piers in the east wall. It is thus likely that all the gaps presently existing have been there since the original excavation. Of course, the extrapolations of the architects may in fact be correct, and the loss of some parts of the wall was due to seismic damage. We therefore cannot be sure exactly how many gaps were intentionally left open in the northern half of the wall and as a result we cannot be sure how many Trojan pictures filled in the narrative between the beginning of Book 1 and the middle of Book 5.

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[23] Mau 1904, p. 81, with fig. 29.
[24] Vol. 1, folio 89.

An Empty Frame

Whatever the situation with the niches/gaps may have been, we can be sure that the pillars on the northern half were decorated and carried Trojan images, even though our view of them is badly obstructed. In the elevations, the temple podium blocks our view of the bottom half of the pillars, and the cella blocks our view of part of the portico wall entirely. Then we have the problem of columns screening our view: not only the columns of the portico, but also the colonnade of the temple itself. As a result of these difficulties, Mazois does not make any effort to represent the plaster remaining on the wall behind all the obstacles, which is hardly surprising. Remarkably enough, however, Callet does show us glimpses of the decoration peeking out from behind the temple podium. It was surely a conscious choice to arrange his elevation so that the upper parts of three pillars happen to be visible between the columns (numbers 10, 12 and 16 on Fig. 9). Only one pillar (number 14 on Fig. 9) is completely obscured, as it must be, by the walls of the cella. It seems that Callet thought that this aspect of the portico wall was important enough to document.
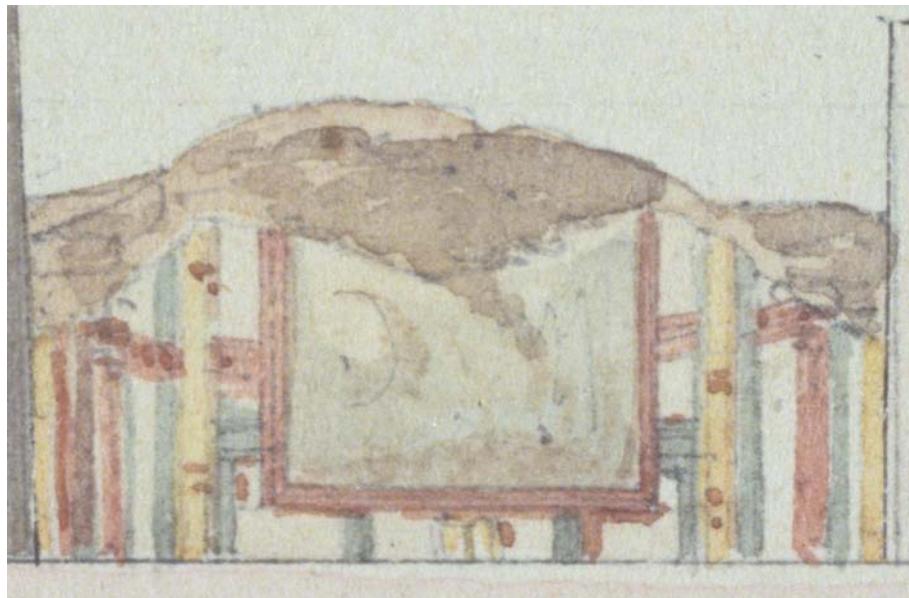
Figure 34: Detail of fig. 6, showing the leftmost of the three pillars with empty picture frames on Callet's elevation.

All three partially-visible pillars show similar decoration, which is clearly meant to represent a variant of the pillar-style we are familiar with from the Diomedes pillar. In each of them, we see a red picture frame surrounded by thin lines that correspond to the pseudo-architectural framework. Of these three similar pillars,

the northernmost has the most plaster preserved, so we will begin with this (number 16 on Fig. 9: fig. 34). The enlarged detail shows the distinctive red frame surrounded by colorful vertical lines to suggest the illusionistic architecture surrounding it. There are also a few horizontal lines running across these verticals and behind the picture frame; these corresponds very nicely to the faux-entablature that in the pillar-style decoration runs on top of the first story of the architecture and thence behind the picture frame. Turning from the trompe-l'œil to the figural painting for which it provides the frame, we find something quite surprising.

Callet shows us most of the frame around the figural painting apart from the very top, so we might be tempted to expect that, given the detail we have seen earlier, we will have a good chance of identifying its contents. So the result is all the more startling. All we have here is a brownish-gray wash without any of the densely packed, colorful detail that we have come to expect in Callet's depictions of the Trojan paintings (fig. 34). It is true that there is some variation in the darkness of the wash at the bottom, but this is not patterned in such a way as to represent human figures or their shadows. There are also two pencil-lines, but again these are not figural. If anything, they seem to approximate the letters "D" and "M", though the vertical line of the "D" is missing on the left. The first puzzle is why in this instance alone Callet omitted any attempt to represent the Trojan painting. Having decided, unlike Mazois, to include these three pillars in his elevation, and having taken the trouble to show the outlines of the trompe-l'œil architecture on this pillar, why omit the figural composition which it served to frame? Callet thought the figural decoration on these pillars was important enough to record elsewhere on the wall, so we should expect him to record it here.

Figure 35: Mazois 1812–38, vol. 4, pl. 22.

We might be tempted to leave this as an unexplained anomaly, except for another piece of evidence, which suggests that here too Callet was recording with his usual meticulous attention the actual appearance of the wall painting in the portico. One of the color lithographs of the Temple of Apollo in Mazois' deluxe publication shows the familiar pillar-style decorative scheme, with the black-on-yellow base, the three-dimensional architecture with an architrave running behind the picture frame, a lintel with a distant landscape below, and an illusionistic ribbon suspending the picture frame (fig. 35). The odd thing is that the picture frame is completely blank. This volume of *Les ruines de Pompéi* was published posthumously and the text was supplied not by Mazois but by Gau and Barré, who were compelled to speculate as to why this was so. They guessed that the idea was to provide a frame for a genuine *pinax*, a figural composition painted directly on wood and then mounted on the wall.[25] Rochette, who had been to the sanctuary, agreed.[26] The fact that there were sometimes blank spaces instead of figural paintings in the portico is confirmed by Raoul-Rochette, who discusses this aspect of Mazois' publication years later, but from the perspective of someone who had been to the portico himself not long after its excavation. It is curious that scholarship on the portico has largely ignored one of its most interesting features: the presence of elaborate fourth-style decorations around blank spaces intended to house separately composed, embedded paintings.[27]

There is no need to infer, like Raoul-Rochette, that what was lost from these spaces were panel paintings executed directly upon wood. There is plenty of evidence from elsewhere in Pompeii and from Vitruvius for the practice of preserving old figural paintings on plaster when redecorating a wall. The old painting was cut out, mounted on wood, and then inserted in the fresh plaster. When Vesuvius erupted, the wood was carbonized and the mounted plaster fell out. We will discuss that aspect of the evidence more fully in the chapter after the next, when we look at the chronology of the phases of redecoration of the portico. But it is important to realize that the empty space in Callet's elevation and in Mazois' chromolithograph must reflect a genuine feature of the decoration.

There are several discrepancies between Callet's and Mazois' representation of the blank frame. For example, Mazois presents a gleaming and flawless white square, whereas Callet's dull, uneven brownish gray wash suggests unfinished plaster. It is unlikely that the pure, unblemished white square in the color lithograph represents a point of genuine disagreement with Callet; rather it must be a tidying up of reality by Mazois or his lithographer. There would be little reason for an ancient painter to waste paint and time polishing to a high finish a space which was designed to be covered by another surface. Another minor discrepancy is that the pattern of breakage across the top of the surviving plaster is slightly different,

[25] Mazois 1812–38, vol. 4, p. 44.
[26] Raoul-Rochette 1840, 195–8.
[27] For an exception to that neglect, see Van Buren 1938, 72.

but it is possible that the architects were representing different stages in the decay of the same panel. Mazois was in Pompeii four years earlier than Callet, so it is quite possible that the upper part of the plaster had fallen away in the interim.

There are also indisputable discrepancies, which indicate that Mazois' image was not drawn from the east wall, but from another part of the portico where there were blank panels. For example, Mazois shows a lintel under the picture frame which reveals a sacred landscape underneath. Callet, by contrast, shows instead three vertical lines beneath the frame: two thin blue lines on the outside and a more elaborate yellow one in the middle. This corresponds quite well to the variant of the pillar-style decoration in which the picture frame is supported by a gold candelabrum.[28] This can be seen in the picture of the pillars on the cork model a bit farther down (fig. 32: numbers 12 and 10 on Fig. 9). The final discrepancy concerns the coloring of the architecture. Callet's elevation indicates roughly the same colors as the Diomedes panel, mostly red and yellow, whereas the Mazois panel has quite a different scheme, in which blue takes the place of red. We will see in the next chapter that Mazois' colors are confirmed by the cork model for the pillar-style panels on the north wall. This indicates that there was more than one place in the portico in which the elaborate, fourth-style decoration surrounded a blank space.

Before we leave this missing painting, we can speculate about what might once have been intended for this space. Everything we have seen so far suggests that the visual narrative on this wall was linear and adhered closely to the plot of the *Iliad*. If we are right in thinking that the gap between this pillar and the one to the north was left open as an entrance to the Forum, then this pillar should depict the scene immediately before Diomedes wounds Aphrodite. If we are right in seeing the letters "D" and "M" scratched into the raw, unfinished plaster, they could be annotations designed to tell the painters and decorators where in the portico to put the various Trojan images. Do the letters stand, perhaps, for Diomedes and Minerva (aka Athena)? If the positions of the letters stand for the positions of the figures, then a composition with Athena on the right and Diomedes on the left would reverse their relative positions in the next painting. Such a painting could depict the moment when Athena responds to the hero's prayer and bestows courage upon him and the gift of being able to distinguish between god and mortal on the battlefield (*Il.* 5.121–32). This is the point when she instructs him to attack Aphrodite if he sees her, so it would serve as an introduction to the more violent image that follows, much as the painting of Calchas' address to Achilles sets up the violence of that warrior in the following scene. All this must remain, however, nothing more than speculation.

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[28] An example of one of these candelabra is probably pictured on f. 61r of Gell's notebook, where it is labelled "T. of Bacchus, wall next the Forum".

Menelaus and Machaon?

Moving south, we pass over the pillar which is completely hidden by the cella walls (number 14 on Fig. 9) to the next pillar that Callet shows peeking out above the front of the podium (fig. 36: number 12 on Fig. 9). There is less plaster surviving here, but enough to see that here too was a figural painting surrounded by pillar-style decoration. On the right side we are afforded a particularly good view of the ceiling of the lower story of the fantasy architecture. It is quite clear here, more so than on the previous pillar, that the central painting is supported by a thin vertical, circular object rather than a long horizontal lintel. We can conclude that these are certainly examples of the narrower candelabrum-variant of the pillar-style decoration. When we turn to the central painting, we find that nearly half of the plaster is missing, having broken off on a diagonal from top left to bottom right (fig. 36). All that can be made out are a few details of a figure in the foreground. There are a few confused strokes of color at the bottom center that may represent legs and, toward the left side, a clear outline of a right arm hanging down beside a torso across which the plaster-break cuts diagonally. The head of this figure is missing, as is whatever was on the right side of the painting.

We have far less detail to work with here than we did in the other three places where Callet gives us a view of a Trojan painting. There is, however, one image in Steinbüchel's collection that has a very similar pattern of breakage (fig. 37). This drawing likewise shows the bottom-left triangular portion of an image with the line of breakage running from top-left to bottom-right. The slant of the breakage-line is very similar if not perfectly identical, as are some aspects of its contours, being somewhat convex at the top, concave in the middle and flat at the bottom. In contrast to Steinbüchel's other drawings, there is very little content to work with, so we are doubly out of luck. We see a figure reclining somewhat awkwardly on a rectilinear object, and there are three distinctive features: the arm hanging down, the straight lines of the angular object, and the feet. If we look hard enough, we can perhaps see reflections of these three items in the detail of Callet's elevation. First, the arm: about one quarter of the width of the painting from its left side, Callet shows us what appears to be an arm hanging down from a shoulder. It is true that this arm is straight while Steinbüchel's is slightly bent at the elbow, but the general position of the arm corresponds well. The next feature is the rectilinear object on which this figure sits. Again, Callet shows just enough to suggest a match. Near the mid-point of the bottom of the painting there are several up-and-down strokes, two of which are notably vertical and straight. These end at the break in the plaster at which point they seem to meet at right angles the end of another straight line which runs horizontally. If we follow that line leftwards, it seems to pass behind the bottom end of the arm hanging down. These perpendicular lines seem to correspond to the edges of the object that Steinbüchel's figure sits on. Callet's detail is hard to read, but what helps this interpretation is that the two

features we have discerned come together in the same way in both images: the hand of the main figure extends down, just past the top, horizontal edge of the seat. The third feature of Steinbüchel's drawing are the legs and feet. The vertical lines at the bottom of Callet's detail might conceal one leg or two, but at this point we are grasping at straws.

It must be admitted that with these fragmentary images we are on weaker ground than we were in the other cases, where we could make fairly convincing matches between aspects of Steinbüchel's drawings and the details of Callet's elevation. Nevertheless, I think there is just enough evidence to claim a match here as well. Look at the relative positions of the line of broken plaster, the corner of the seat, the hand and the top edge of the seat. The correspondences do not leap out, but they are there.

Part of the problem, of course, is that it is far from obvious what Trojan scene this drawing represents. Steinbüchel suggested that it was supposed to show Diomedes stealing the Palladium. That may seem an oddly specific and random guess, but it is not hard to reconstruct his reasoning. The Austrian scholar was the Keeper of the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Antiquities in Vienna, and he published works on ancient coins and medals. In the light of this expertise in miniatures from antiquity, it seems likely that he interpreted the scanty detail preserved here in terms of a motif common in intaglios and cameos of the Augustan period. These show the theft of the Palladium with Diomedes on the left, ready to leap over an altar to make his escape, and Ulysses on the right.[29] Diomedes' posture in that scheme has enough general similarity to our composition to suggest that these were the parallels Steinbüchel had in mind, but not enough to make it a convincing identification. When stealing the Palladium, Diomedes has one foot planted firmly on top of the altar, ready to spring over it, knee fully flexed; whereas here he is reclining languidly against the object, both feet on the ground. Diomedes holds out the Palladium in his left hand, while his right arm extends downward and his hand holds a sword. In our composition, the right arm is extended downward alongside the altar-like object in the same way, but it holds no sword. Several other visitors to the portico also include Diomedes stealing the Palladium as the subject of one the paintings, so this seems to have come to be an established identification. One of these publications came out several years before Steinbüchel's, so the idea must have begun circulating well before the publication of his *Atlas*.[30]

We can reject the Palladium identification out of hand because the visual parallels are so poor, but a much stronger one was proposed by Diepolder, from a painting found in Pompeii in the Casa di Sirico.[31] This painting (fig. 38) shows

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[29] See J. Boardman and C. E. Vafopoulou-Richardson in *LIMC* s.v. "Diomedes 1", 42–61, with 46 being our painting.

[30] See Goro von Agyagfalva 1825, 128.

[31] Diepolder 1926, 70; the identification is approved by Thompson 1960, 70, n. 8. The alternative parallel proposed by Six 1917, 189–91 is implausible.

Poseidon on the left, reclining against an altar and engaged in a discussion with Apollo on the right.[32] In the background are workers engaged in building a wall, and some cattle. The subject is the time Poseidon and Apollo were obliged by Zeus to serve King Laomedon of Troy for a year: in the *Iliad*, Poseidon recalls that he built the walls of the city while Apollo herded cattle for the king on Mount Ida (21.441–57). This picture corresponds to what survives of our figure very well, much better than Diomedes about to leap with the Palladium. The position of the feet and the right arm are correct, as is the general attitude of repose. There are no obvious problems with the visual correspondences, but it introduces a big problem in terms of the narrative of the east wall. Poseidon recalls this episode at the end of Book 7 of the *Iliad*, and again in Book 21, but even so to include it in the midst of an Iliadic narrative would be an oddity. A verbal text can easily mark episodes as belonging to the past relative to the narrative present, but it is much harder to do so in a visual tableau.

We can accept that the painting of Poseidon gives us a good indication of what the posture of our figure must have looked like, but perhaps he was not the only character in the Trojan story to recline atop a square object. Indeed, this general posture, where a warrior sits facing right on an improvised object, supporting his left arm on his spear and letting his right arm hang down, may be parallelled in a number of other Trojan scenes, including one from elsewhere in this same portico. In the next chapter we will discuss a painting of Achilles receiving Priam in his tent in which the hero sits with his feet and arms in exactly this same position (fig. 54). He grips the side of his throne with his right hand in much the same way that our mystery figure grips the edge of the object he is sitting on.

So the posture of our figure is not as distinctive as Diepolder's claim would suggest, but there still is the fact that both his Poseidon and our painting sit not a chair or throne but a block of stone. This, too, is not so distinctive. The Iliadic cycle in the House of Loreius Tiburtinus (also called the House of Octavius Quartio) has a scene in which Achilles receives the embassy of Phoenix while seated in the same posture: with left hand supported by his spear, right hand hanging down, sitting on a square rock.[33] Another problem with Diepolder's identification is that the object Poseidon sits on is a perfectly rectangular block, which in the context of the painting must be one of the blocks he is using to build the walls of Troy. In our drawing, the object is clearly elaborated with a base at the foot and so would not be a suitable object for wall-building.

All these considerations argue against identifying Steinbüchel's fragment as a painting of Poseidon and Apollo. So what is it? The object could be an altar, which might indicate divinity, but not necessarily. The figure is barefoot, which might again be taken to indicate a god, but Steinbüchel's drawings routinely omit mortal

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[32] See *LIMC* "Apollon/Apollo" 485, with illustration.
[33] See Spinazzola 1953, 983, fig. 1003.

footwear (as for both Achilles and Agamemnon in his image of their quarrel), so that is not a safe deduction. If the features of Steinbüchel's drawing are not distinctive enough to identify the scene on its own, how can we proceed? At this point, a different avenue of exploration suggests itself. From its position on the east wall we can guess that this ought to be a scene from Book 2, 3 or 4 of the *Iliad*. We have seen that three of the *tabulae Iliacae* furnish very good parallels for the three other Homeric scenes we have discussed. If we look at the scenes on those tablets between Books 1 and 5 of the *Iliad*, do we find any images in which a figure on the left reclines upon an object?

We would like to begin with the Capitoline tablet, but unfortunately, the relevant part does not survive. This leaves us with the two other tablets that have been useful to us so far: the Sarti tablet and the first Verona tablet. On the latter, there is a scene immediately prior to wounding of Aphrodite by Diomedes which shows the healer Machaon attending to the wounded Menelaus (fig. 39).[34] Both are seated, facing each other; Menelaus on the left and Machaon on the right. Machaon is seated on a rock-like object and leans forward, reaching out toward his patient. It is more difficult to make out the details of Menelaus; he may be sitting on something, but it is not clear what. When we compare this tablet with our drawing, the main difference is that Menelaus leans forward rather than back. But if we consider that he is supposed to be receiving treatment to a wound in the abdomen, the posture in Steinbüchel's drawing makes better sense. He sits to rest, but leans back to show his wound to the healer, who would be leaning over him in the part of the painting that was lost. If we look at the right arm of our figure, do we begin to see the tension of a man in pain, or is that the product of an over-active imagination? There is a rigidity in the arm and especially in the fingers that we do not see, for example, in Diepolder's Poseidon parallel, whose fingers lightly graze the stone block. These fingers appear to grip the edge of the block, spread apart, forearm tense. It is not hard to imagine that the owner of this arm was having an arrow pulled out of his abdomen.

This interpretation is not without its problems. The lost Sarti tablet, which agreed so well with the Verona tablet when it came to the wounding of Aphrodite, has a rather different version of this scene (fig. 40). Menelaus on the left and Machaon on the right are both labelled, but Machaon is down on one knee as he treats Menelaus, who is standing up, though he does have one knee bent. Since the Sarti tablet is lost, we have no way of knowing how secure this part of the surviving drawing is, and in any case the *tabulae Iliacae* surely had multiple sources of inspiration; the tablets frequently do give different conceptions of the same Homeric scene. So this is not a fatal problem. If we are correct in assuming that there were no walls between these pillars, then there are just two paintings before

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[34] Sadurska 1964, 41 glosses the content of this scene as "Les soins aux plaies. Ménélas et Machaon sont assis l'un en face de l'autre penchés en avant".

we come to the wounding of Aphrodite in the middle of Book 5. The healing
of Menelaus from the middle part of Book 4 is plausibly positioned here. If we
can assume that the preceding panel must have shown his wounding, a nice link
is set up with the painting of Diomedes, whose foot was resting on the head of
Aeneas' companion Pandarus, for it was Pandarus who treacherously broke the
truce and shot Menelaus. So the picture that shows the wounding of Aphrodite
also incidentally shows us the comeuppance of the villain behind this scene.

Figure 36: Detail of fig. 6, showing the middle of the three pillars with empty picture frames on Callet's elevation.
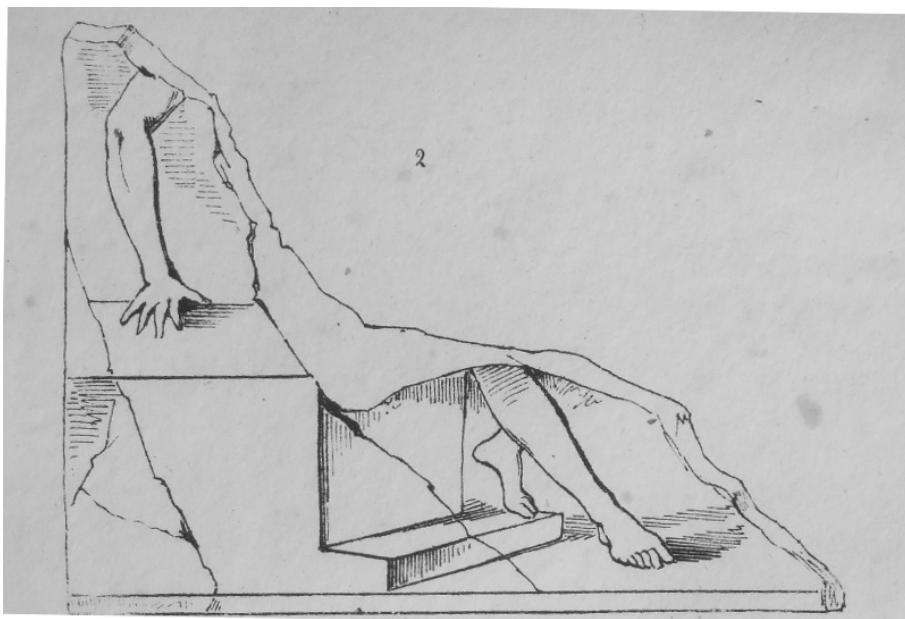
Figure 37: Steinbüchel, *Atlas*, vol. 8, pl. D.2

Figure 38: Archival photograph of a painting from the Casa di Sirico, showing Apollo and Poseidon building the walls of Troy.
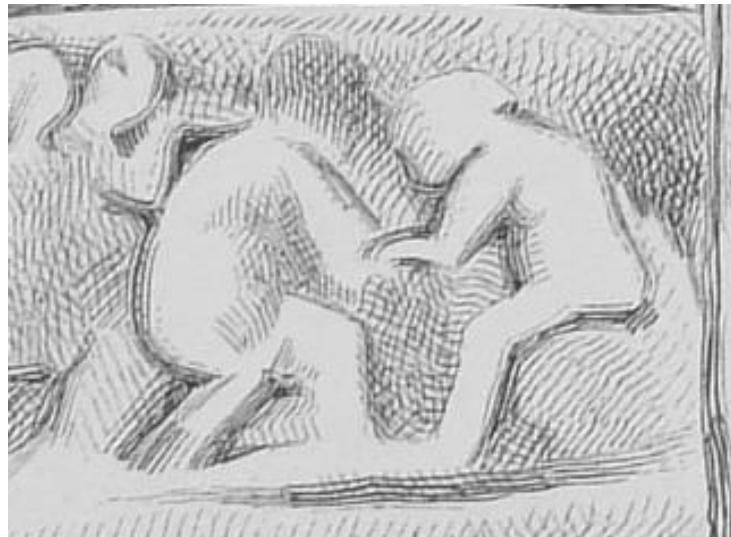
Figure 39: Detail of a line drawing of the first Verona *tabula Iliaca* from Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (1873), pl. 3.
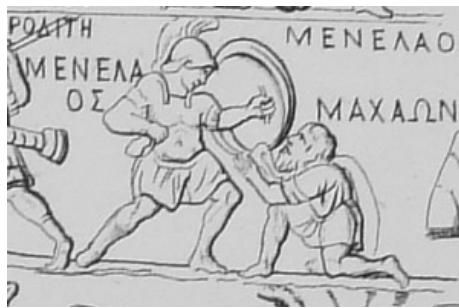
Figure 40: Detail of a line drawing of the now-lost Sarti *tabula Iliaca* from Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (1873), pl. 2.

The Rest of the Wall

Continuing southward, we can quickly review the remaining part of the east wall, where it seems that very little plaster survived; unfortunately, no more figural paintings can be reconstructed. First we come to the last of the three pillars partially hidden by the podium that Callet shows peeking out through the temple colonnade (fig. 41: number 10 on Fig. 9). Only the bottom margin of the figural painting survived here, and a few vertical lines to indicate once again the candelabrum-variant of the pillar-style. Not enough remains to tell whether this is the remnant of a blank space for mounting a separate image or whether it is the bottom of a painting. The cork model confirms Callet's depiction precisely (fig. 42, leftmost pillar). To the south we come to the first inter-pillar space where we can be absolutely sure that there was a wall present (number 9 on Fig. 9). The same image of the cork model shows the bottom register of the niche-style decoration in red with a figure at its center. The cork model shows nothing but a pillar-style base on the next pillar (fig. 42, second pillar from the left), but the earlier sources attest that it too once had candelabrum-style decoration. Callet and Mazois (figs. 43 and 6: number 8 on Fig. 9) show this pillar appearing from behind the temple steps, from which we can see the three-dimensional architectural framework with women on either side and the candelabrum in the middle that once presumably supported a figural painting. A similar view of what is probably this pillar is shown in the background of Mazois' lithograph of the herm that stood in front of an adjacent column.[35] The wall continues southward in this unpromising vein; both Callet and the cork model confirm that the red plaster with a central figure, which indicates the bottom register of the niche-style, continued to feature at the bottom of the next two niches (numbers 7 and 5 on Fig. 9). The next two pillars, however, appear to have lost all of their plaster (numbers 6 and 4 on Fig. 9). At this point we have come back to where we started, the first two niches at the southern end of the wall.

The main thing we can learn from this part of the wall is that the niche-style and pillar-style decoration alternated, both of them bearing Trojan paintings. Most of the pillars here have the candelabrum-variant, presumably because it was more suitable to these narrower piers. These nevertheless held figural paintings, except for the very first pillar (number 2 on Fig. 9), which was unusually narrow. We can make a guess as to how many paintings continued the narrative of the *Iliad* between the quarrel of Achilles and the healing of Menelaus. There are seven likely places for paintings that are unaccounted for and there could be more, if the places where there are now gaps between the piers once were decorated niches. This implies a very thickly illustrated narrative of the first five books of the *Iliad*. It would be rash to speculate about the exact contents, but it seems likely that the Catalog of

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[35] Mazois 1812–38, vol. 4, pl. 20.
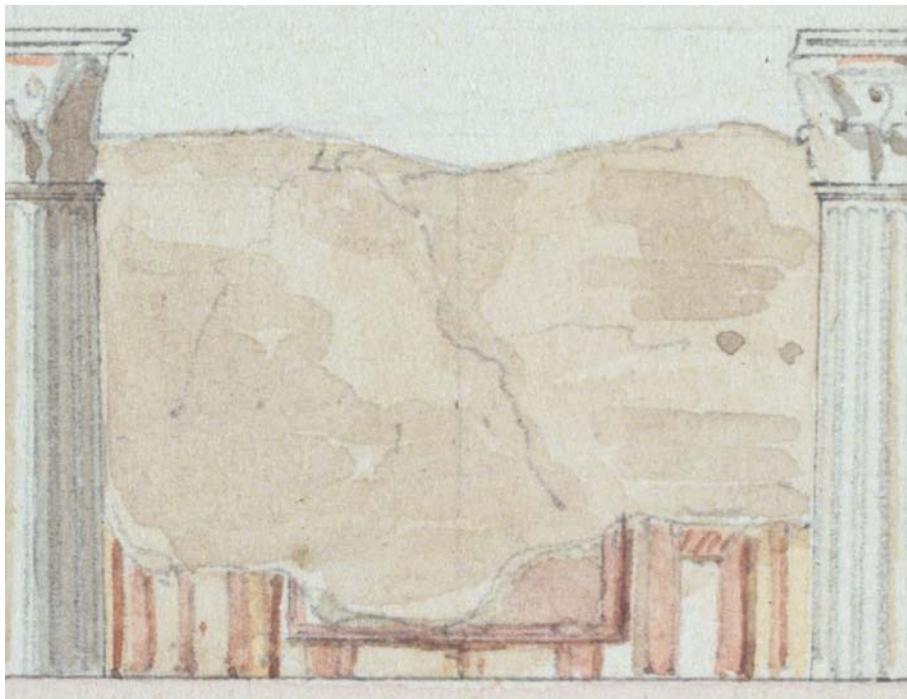
Figure 41: Detail of fig. 6, showing the rightmost of the three pillars with empty picture frames on Callet's elevation.

Ships in Book 2 did not feature as prominently as more visually exciting episodes such as the abortive duel of Paris and Menelaus. Later on we will make a case for the inclusion here of one famous painting on the basis of a parallel elsewhere in Pompeii.

Conclusions

Now that we have reconstructed what we can of the east wall of the portico, we can draw a few conclusions about the remarkable care with which it was decorated. Firstly, it is clear that the east wall, with its distinctive architecture, was particularly important: it was selected as the pattern to which the rest of the perimeter would conform. Accordingly, its southern end was chosen at the point where the Iliadic narrative should start. Even though, as we will see, there were probably pre-Iliadic episodes represented on the south wall, the commencement of the Homeric poem was important enough to align carefully with one of the corners of the portico. This alignment would have helped the viewer interpret the scenes, for there were almost certainly no labels identifying the figures in the Trojan paintings. As we have seen, the picture of Calchas addressing Achilles was not easy for modern

Figure 42: Detail of Plastico di Pompei, National Archaeological Museum, Naples: middle to south of the east wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo; author's photograph.
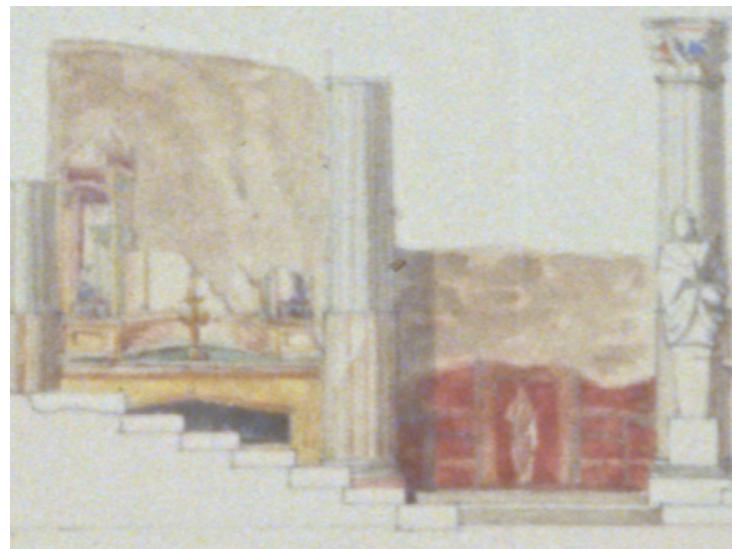
Figure 43: Detail of fig. 6, showing the fourth niche and the adjacent pillar on Callet's elevation.

visitors to interpret in a vacuum. Presumably an ancient audience would have had a much richer stock of iconographic knowledge to draw on when situating Calchas' gesture, but it seems likely that even a reasonably well-informed visitor might have needed to glance to the left at the painting of the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon to be sure of what he or she was seeing. In this way, even a seemingly linear visual narrative depends upon the viewer being able to "read" the text in two directions.

The painting of the quarrel, representing as it does a memorable and distinctive moment from the first book of the *Iliad*, provides the visual cues to orient the viewer with respect to that literary narrative, and from there a good memory of Homer would allow one to identify the preceding speaker in the Greek assembly as Calchas. It would be a mistake to view that scene as mere space-filler, however, for the two paintings work in tandem by means of a series of pointed contrasts. Both juxtapose a standing and a seated figure, but they swap sides; Achilles appears on

the right of both scenes. In the first, he is languid, confident and casual in repose, an attitude highlighted by the contrast with Calchas' intent and focused standing posture. Then, in the next scene, Achilles has changed completely. He stands instead of sitting, leans agressively forward instead of back. What has changed is that Achilles and Agamemnon have traded the most vicious insults, effectively a contest for leadership, which culminates in Agamemnon's threat to humiliate Achilles by taking away Briseis, his prize. The visual artist cannot convey the text of those speeches, but the change in posture speaks eloquently of what has happened between the first and second picture. If we can trust Steinbüchel's drawing, Achilles' cloak has slipped from his shoulder onto his arm (presumably the loss of a sandal is the copyist's error); this reveals the sword and baldric which were presumably hidden beneath. The heroic nudity of Achilles' stance as he confronts Agamemnon highlights the nonchalance of his appearance in the earlier scene. Then, he was confident enough to summon the entire Greek army to assembly and command a prophet to explain the cause of the plague; now he has been publicly humiliated by Agamemnon for "declaring himself my equal and likening himself to me to my face".[36] The other contrast in posture is between the seated Agamemnon and the seated Achilles. Agamemnon's torso is twisted in rage as he grips the scepter that indicates that he has just finished the speech in which he drops the bombshell of his threat to take Briseis. By contrast, in the previous scene it is Calchas who holds the scepter and Achilles is listening placidly.[37] This shift of the scepter visually reinforces the sense that at the start of the *Iliad* Agamemnon is not in control. The fact that Calchas holds a scepter in the first scene as he addresses the man who summoned the assembly highlights the absence of the king from command of these events.[38] Presumably the artist is not thinking that Calchas has taken Agamemnon's own scepter, as Odysseus later does, but rather has in mind the scepter that another priest, Chryses, bears when he comes to meet Agamemnon at the very start of the first book (1.15).[39] When he wields his own scepter angrily in the next image, we get a vivid sense of his belated effort to wrest control of the situation from Achilles and Calchas. The calmness with which Calchas holds his scepter in

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[36] ἶσον ἐμοὶ φάσθαι καὶ ὁμοιωθήμεναι ἄντην (*Il.* 1.187).

[37] Admittedly, the left arm holding the scepter is a bit awkwardly attached to Calchas' body in Steinbüchel's drawing, but the arm could not belong to anyone else.

[38] I owe this point to Marco Fantuzzi, who compares the way Odysseus takes Agamemnon's scepter in the next book when he acts as the leader in putting to right the consequences of Agamemnon's foolish loyalty test.

[39] As Marco Fantuzzi points out to me *per litteras*: "The scepter that Chryses is holding is intended to represent his religious authority, in a moment when he needs all the authority he can show off in dialogue with a sceptered king. Someone who intended to represent Calchas on the verge of expressing an authoritative prophecy, and again was going to do that in front of an Agamemnon who was not going to be pleased with the contents of that prophecy, may have liked to reproduce the iconography of another religious figure connected to Apollo who had dared to contradict Agamemnon's plans."

contrast to the anger of Agamemnon bears witness to the fact that he is the real leader in this scene.

Another pointed contrast lies in what the two warriors are sitting on in the two images. Agamemnon is seated upon a throne, and it is apparent that there was a certain amount of ornate carving on it. Achilles is presumably seated on an improvised seat, which is concealed from view by his shield. This highlights the lack of official status he enjoys when compared to Agamemnon. He may summon the assembly, but he is not the king of kings. We can take this approach even further if we see in the shield that obscures Achilles' seat something more significant than a randomly placed object. Achilles appears almost to be balanced precariously upon the edge of the shield, which at first glance seems a serious compositional awkwardness. As with the best poets, so with the best artists, those moments of inexplicable strangeness reveal, when examined closely, not a lack of technique but the lineaments of a larger purpose. The very oddness of Achilles sitting on the edge of his shield on the right margin of the right painting invites us to explore the visual mirror-image of Agamemnon sitting on his throne on the left margin of the left painting. This sets up a symbolic polarity between Achilles' shield and Agamemnon's throne, which serves to illustrate the crucial difference between them as they vie to be considered "best of the Achaeans": Achilles' position rests upon his skill as a warrior, while Agamemnon's rests upon his royal authority. The throne versus the shield: there you have the plot of the *Iliad*. This is an artist capable of a sophisticated analysis of the tensions in the first book of the *Iliad* and of rendering that analysis visible by means of striking visual symbolism.

Later in this book we will explore the possibility that some aspects of this series of images were inspired by a series of paintings hanging in the Portico of Philippus in Rome. If that connection is valid, it is likely that some of the features of the engagement with the *Iliad* in these Pompeian images go back to Theorus, the painter credited by Pliny with the cycle in Rome. The danger here is of discounting the creativity of the local imitation in pursuit of a lost metropolitan model. We must confront the likelihood that everywhere in Pompeii we have an inextricable combination of the quotation of motifs familiar from the metropolis and creative, intelligent reinvention of those motifs to suit a local purpose. In the absence of independent evidence, we usually cannot tell the difference, so we need always to be aware of both possibilities. At this point, it would be useful to think back to the way the designers of the portico integrated the statue of *Apollo Saettante* into the narrative on the walls. Apollo and his sister Diana simultaneously belong to a different context: the series of sculptures and altars around the inside perimeter of the portico. As we will see when we discuss the dating of this structure, it seems that many earlier dedications were integrated in new positions when it was redesigned in the Augustan period. We therefore have a suggestion of a purely local phenomenon: someone in Pompeii took a series of paintings and a pair of locally significant sculptures and created a brilliant visual pun by means of intersecting

them. This is a cautionary tale against the assumption that quality and intellectualism are a sign of non-provincial origin. At the same time, the presence of these Trojan scenes on the *tabulae Iliacae* from the suburbs of Rome is a warning that these local artists were working with an iconographic vocabulary drawn from elsewhere.[40]

Turning now to the painting of Diomedes wounding Aphrodite, we can see the signs of a similarly sophisticated reading of Homer. The east wall begins with Athena, standing on the right side of a painting near the right end of the wall and holding back a Greek warrior as he deliberates over using his weapon against someone of higher status whom he probably should not attack. It ends with Athena, standing on the left side of the painting on the left end of the wall, urging on a Greek warrior as he deliberates over using his weapon against someone of higher status whom he probably should not attack. Once again we have a mirroring of images and attitudes. Just as the mirroring of the seated Achilles and Agamemnon highlighted the difference between them, so here there the visual elements suggest a careful analysis of the characters of the *Iliad*. The mirroring of Athena does not indicate a change in the goddess' attitude: she helps both Greek warriors but her intervention takes the opposite form in either case. Achilles and Diomedes are two of the greatest fighters on the Greek side, but they are made of very different stuff. Achilles' problem is that he arrogates the right to break all normal rules, whereas Diomedes is a hero without that particular flaw; if anything, he is too cautious.

The ancient commentators on Homer wondered why the *Iliad*'s first important *aristeia*, a warrior's period of sustained excellence on the battlefield, should be given to Diomedes, who is less than integral to the rest of the plot of the epic.[41] Our painter(s) give an interesting answer: because he serves as a foil for Achilles' disdain for rules and hierarchy. He wounds Aphrodite only because he has been told explicitly by Athena that she is the only god he may attack (5.129–32). It is true that he is momentarily carried away in the effort to finish Aeneas off and attacks Apollo, who has taken Aphrodite's burden. But when the god tells him to back off, he does so (5.440–4). Later, Athena rebukes him for having less spirit than his father, Tydeus, because he has refrained from attacking the god Ares (5.800–13). Diomedes replies that he is simply following her instructions. The contrast with Tydeus is instructive: he, like Achilles, was a hero whose anger knew no bounds. His life ended when, mortally wounded, he sunk his teeth into the brains of his adversary. Athena, on the point of rewarding his heroism with immortality, turned away in disgust.[42] This background story fatally undermines her rebuke to Diomedes; we understand that he has learned self-mastery and is a wiser man than his father. He obeys Athena's instructions to the letter, even to the point of frustrating her. The

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[40] Squire 2011, 165–76 has shown that the *tabula Capitolina* similarly displays sophisticated iconographic juxtapositions.

[41] On Homer's "partiality" for Diomedes, see van der Valk 1952.

[42] On the probable antiquity of this story, see Gantz 1993, 518.

point of inserting this portrait of Diomedes early in the epic is to demonstrate that there is another mode of heroism available apart from Achilles' rule-breaking.

The painter of our Trojan images understood this, and the purpose of the mirroring of Athena is to highlight the way Homer's Diomedes serves as a foil for Achilles. In order to achieve this mirroring, the painter has in fact departed slightly from the Homeric narrative. The two paintings at the other end of the wall are faithful to Homer down to the smallest detail; and we have seen that this fidelity does not preclude their making an intelligent and insightful commentary on the dynamics of the epic. That precision makes it all the more remarkable that Athena does not really belong next to Diomedes here. At this moment in the narrative, she is elsewhere. She is said to help guide Diomedes' spear when he kills Pandarus (5.290–1), but the next we hear of her is on Olympus, mocking the injured Aphrodite to Zeus (5.418–19). The reason for her sudden and unexplained disappearance from the battlefield is easy enough to guess: if she had directly helped Diomedes injure the unwarlike Aphrodite, there would have been little glory in it for him. By contrast, later in the book Athena stands by Diomedes' side and leans on the end of his spear when he drives it into the war-god Ares (5.856–7); this greater feat demanded closer assistance. Our painter created a fusion of the early scene in which Athena urges Diomedes to attack Aphrodite and the later scene in which he does so; the plausibility of this amalgamation is boosted by the viewer's memory of the later scene in which Athena does stand by Diomedes' side and helps him to wound Ares.

Once again, we have the option of attributing this thoughtfulness about the way the Homeric Diomedes embodies the inverse of Achilles either to those who decorated the portico in Pompeii or to the painter of the Trojan cycle that it was based on; once again this is both an unsolvable problem and a false dichotomy. The fact that the painting of Diomedes is positioned at the end of the east wall in such a way as to highlight the impetuosity of Achilles near the other end of that wall suggests that the Pompeian designers were at the very least aware of the mirroring and chose to highlight its importance. The other local aspect of this sophisticated visual analysis of the *Iliad* is the expectation that at least some of the visitors to the portico would have enough education to appreciate this commentary. For some, perhaps, it would have been enough to identify the unlabeled scenes, and to map these onto a dim memory of the epic. But it seems clear that some others would have appreciated the cleverness with which the designers interwove the painted and sculptural decoration and the way they highlighted and framed the paintings' commentary on the character of Achilles. Finally, the presence of the wounded Aeneas on this wall is clearly a matter of particular interest for a Roman audience, but we will defer discussion of that aspect, for it will turn out that this is not the only painting in the portico in which he figures.

Chapter 3

Pompeii: the Rest of the Portico

We were fortunate when reconstructing the east wall of the portico to have had two different architectural elevations to compare; and both of these were clearly intended to represent the actual state of the ruins with very little in the way of speculative reconstruction. For the other walls of the portico, alas, we have no such elevation at all. This means that our primary source for the appearance of these walls is the cork model in the Naples museum. The model shows a great deal of plaster surviving on the north wall, perhaps more even than on the east wall, with apparent indications of three fully preserved figural paintings in its western half. Unfortunately, it does not seem likely that this part of the model preserves any reliable detail about the particulars of those paintings. From a distance, they appear to be simply dark squares intended to do no more than to indicate the presence of a painting. If one stares intently at a greatly magnified detail of one of those squares, the ghostly presence of figures may by detected (see fig. 44: number 27 on Fig. 9). But the very darkness of the squares, in contrast to the way the paintings were represented as colors on a light background in the elevations of Mazois and Callet, suggests that they were not meant to be meaningfully legible. These images were presumably drawn at third-hand: as we have seen, Felice Padiglione's 100:1 model was a copy of his father Domenico's 48:1 original, whose painted decoration was presumably copied in a workshop from a drawing that was made on site. So, even if the Naples museum were to publish properly lighted close-up photographs of the murky squares, any details therein would have to be treated with great caution. The result is that our knowledge of the position of the paintings on the other three walls is much more a matter of guesswork, and hence we will not be able to use the positions to inform our identification of the scenes. Nevertheless, it will still be profitable to examine the evidence.

Rather than pinpointing locations by means of carefully rendered details, we can only make an argument based on general probabilities. We have two more Steinbüchel drawings left to place, both of which seem to come from the end of the *Iliad*: one probably shows the dragging of Hector's body behind Achilles' chariot; the other has Priam's supplication of Achilles as he asks to ransom Hector's

Figure 44: Detail of fig. 48, showing the vestiges of a figural composition on the west side of the north wall of the cork model.

body. The natural supposition is that these two images from the final three books of the epic were fairly close to each other on one wall, and the north wall is the only candidate with sufficient plaster remaining after excavation to accommodate that possibility. One caveat to bear in mind is that there must have been significant decay in the state of the plaster in the time between Steinbüchel's visit to the site in 1819 and the time represented by the cork model. If we had followed the evidence of the cork model exclusively for the east wall, we would have been misled into thinking that nothing useful of the figural paintings in the first two niches (fig. 10: number 1 and 3 on Fig. 9) or the pillars next to the temple podium (figs. 31 and 32: number 16 and 12 on Fig. 9) had survived. Whereas there was apparently not much plaster decay between the time of Mazois' visit in 1819 and Callet's in 1823, the cork model, whose parent was probably begun around 1822–5, does show significant loss on the east wall. So it is probable that there was also loss on other walls. Nevertheless, the most likely location for the remaining two Steinbüchel images has to be the western side of the north wall where the cork model shows that there might have been as many as three figural paintings surviving. One consequence of this inference is that the Iliadic narrative was not continuous around the walls. The east wall had the beginning of the epic and the north wall its end; the middle was presumably on the west and south. This is in fact quite normal; all of the other Iliadic cycles in Pompeii display a similar tendency to jump from wall to wall at various points in the narrative.[1]

Mazois and the North-East Corner

Before proceeding further, we have to eliminate from consideration a piece of evidence for the surviving plaster on the north wall which looks extremely promising

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[1] See Squire 2011, 145–7.

but which turns out to be worthless. Mazois printed a large lithograph with a view of the front elevation of the temple, and on either side of it one can see the north wall of the portico. On the far right, there is one quite complete panel of pillar-style decoration with a detailed representation of a figural composition at its center. We might hope it would be easy to follow the same methodology here as we did for the east wall: find the original watercolor, blow up the detail, and match it to Stein-büchel's drawings. Unfortunately, this lithograph belongs to a genre completely different from the elevations of the east wall. Architects visiting Pompeii generally produced two kinds of work: detailed studies of the ruins as they were and elab-orate reconstructions of how the buildings might originally have been. Mazois' view of the north wall belongs firmly to the latter category, as can be seen from his original watercolor, which is preserved in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale (fig. 45). It is true that it is not as exuberant as some fanciful reconstructions in its treatment of the painted decoration, but all of the architecture is presented in its imagined pristine state. Some artists would have supplied an equally invented and full set of wall paintings, extrapolated from what did survive.[2] Mazois chose not to do that, but presented a wall with crumbling plaster and only one panel partially preserved. This seems to be a strange hybrid of restored architecture and unrestored painting. Is it possible that, despite the improvements made to the architecture, the representation of the state of the painting is accurate?

Figure 45: Original watercolor by Mazois for the lithograph published in Mazois 1812–38, vol. 4, pl. 18.

Other evidence directly contradicts Mazois' treatment of the eastern panel in the north wall, showing that it is, unfortunately, completely without value as doc-umentary evidence. That is, it was designed for a different purpose: as an imagina-tive tool to give the viewer a general idea of what the sanctuary as a whole looked

[2] See, for example, Chabrol's reconstruction: Mascoli 1981, fig. 16.

like. When we compare the treatment of this corner in the cork model, we see a very, very different picture (fig. 14). Here we see not a single pillar-style panel, but something we have not seen before in our investigation of the east wall. The area to the right of the small doorway is not a unified composition but is divided in half, with the wall itself being divided into two surfaces. Just to the right of the mid-point of this area, the wall thickens considerably and breaks the compositional plane. The presence of this feature is confirmed by Mazois' own plan (number 20–21 on Fig. 9) and by a number of other contemporary plans.[3] It is hard to see how a unified composition, such as Mazois shows in his reconstruction, could have been accommodated on an uneven wall surface. The discontinuity would have run through the figural composition. The cork model shows a decorative scheme that responds to the physical nature of the wall. The right side (number 20 on Fig. 9) is flat with large planes of a single color in the manner of the niche-style, but the particular colors, with a white field above a yellow base, recall the pillar style. There is a figural painting at the center, but it appears to be slightly smaller than those we have seen on the east wall. To the left of the discontinuity in the north-east corner wall, continuing toward the small doorway, we see exuberantly three-dimensional trompe-l'œil architecture, which very strongly recalls the pillar-style, but seems to have a distinctly different design. In particular, it does not seem to have had a *pinax* as its focal point. The plaster survived to a sufficient height to reveal the presence of a picture frame, if there was one.

We have two contradictory views of the north wall between its eastern end and the small doorway. Mazois' is from a self-evidently speculative and imaginitive work, while the cork model is expressly documentary. The former flies in the face of the surviving fabric of the wall and the latter respects it. If that is not enough, there are some late-nineteenth-century photographs of the northeast corner of the temple in which parts of the portico wall can be glimpsed through the columns. Several of these show blurred and shadowy lines on the wall just to the right of the small doorway.[4] These indistinct shadows are not very legible on their own, but they agree with the cork model, confirming its reliability here. The rest of Mazois' treatment of the north wall in his reconstruction is equally unreal. Apart from the rightmost panel, he tells us that all of the rest of the painting was destroyed, apart from a series of pillar-style bases running across the wall, conveniently centered precisely within each intercolumniation. This contradicts all of the other evidence, which shows that the pillar-style and the niche-style tend to alternate. The cork model shows a much messier and more realistic picture, which,

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[3] See e.g. Salmon 2000, 82–5, Figs. 58 and 59.

[4] Two albums in the collection of the Getty Research Institute have similar photographs with such views of the northeast corner of the portico. One photo is by Giorgio Sommer (numbered 1281 in a travel album of images from Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Italy between 1860 and 1899, GRI accession number 89.R.30). The other is by Michele Amodio in an album of his photographs of Pompeii which is dated to 1874 (GRI accession number 93.R.111).

although it is considerably later, shows much more plaster surviving. If we accept that Mazois' image here is truthful, the implication is that the Padigliones not only misrepresented the truth but invented large areas of painted plaster on their cork models.

The necessary conclusion is that Mazois' elevation of the north side of the sanctuary is not meant to be realistic at all, despite the crumbling plaster he puts on the rear wall. The whole reconstruction is meant to give a sense of the original dignity and grandeur of the monument. Perhaps Mazois sensed, rightly, that the fancy that many artists expended on the elaboration of wall paintings in their reconstructions did not serve that end. So, instead of reconstructing a busy and invented extrapolation of what was on that wall, he carefully depicted a single, well-preserved pillar-style panel from elsewhere in the portico and then provided the lower register running across to the left to encourage the viewer to reconstruct in the mind's eye a whole series of similar panels across the wall. In a way, this was a more sophisticated and restrained technique than to force upon the viewer the artists' own reconstruction. But this approach requires the presence of a particularly well-preserved and representative section of plaster on a part of the wall that is not obscured for the viewer. The cork model makes it clear that the wall as it existed did not provide this, so Mazois tidied up the messy reality and he imported a well-preserved and impressive bit of decoration from elsewhere. But where from? He might have slid rightwards a part of the wall hidden behind the cella, but he did not do that. As we will see in a moment, the cork model shows that the two pillar-style panels on the north wall were of a slightly different type, which correspond to a different image by Mazois.

The panel that Mazois transports to the eastern end of the north wall bears a striking similarity to a part of the portico we have already examined: the pier decorated with the picture of Diomedes wounding Aphrodite. If we compare a magnified detail of Mazois' watercolor (fig. 46) with the northern end of Callet's elevation of the east wall (fig. 27), the correspondences are uncanny. It appears from the cork model that the Diomedes pier was by far the best preserved example of the pillar style, despite the difficult legibility of its figural composition. For this reason, Mazois may have been tempted, when faced with the chaos of the north wall and the fact that none of its pillar-style panels were ideally impressive in their state of preservation, to slip the Diomedes pillar around the corner to the north wall, where it could represent by synecdoche the decorative program of the portico as a whole. Apart from the Diomedes pillar, all of the other piers on the east wall seem to have been decorated with the narrower candelabrum-variant of the pillar-style. The cork model does show that there were two pillar-style panels on the north wall, but these are quite different in their blueish coloring, as we will examine in detail below. The reddish coloring of this panel belies its true origins on the east wall.

Given the possibility that this panel as a whole was based upon the last pier of
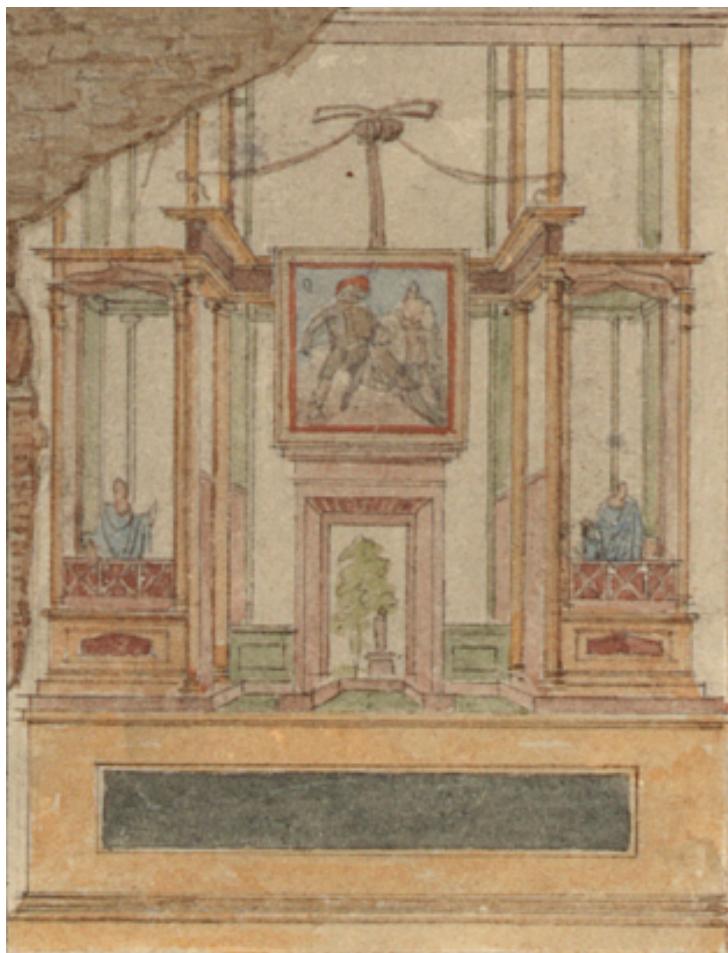
Figure 46: Detail of fig. 45, showing the rightmost end of Mazois' elevation of the north wall.

the adjoining wall, the obvious question is whether its figural composition, which Mazois renders in considerable detail, corresponds to the picture we had built up of Diomedes wounding Aphrodite. When we examine that detail (fig. 46), we find what seems to be two figures, a male on the left and a female on the right, with a large circular object, presumably a shield, between them. The warrior is in a stance which looks very like Diomedes: his right leg drawn straight back toward the lower left of the painting and right leg forward, bent at the knee, foot apparently elevated. His right arm is drawn behind him, grasping his spear overhand at waist height. This is the gesture we had to reconstruct from parallels on the *tabulae Iliacae*, as Morelli's painting and its descendants had misinterpreted it as an attempt to throw the spear. The other end of the spear is not visible in Mazois' detail, but it

would seem to be pointing at the female figure on the other side. She is carrying something, but in this image it is not certain what. Callet's elevation of the east wall makes it clear that a body is being carried, but is not explicit that the carrier is female. Callet had similar difficulties, as we saw, with the shield of Aeneas, if that is what the large circular object it. If so, it looms even larger in Mazois' rendering here. The most surprising thing about Mazois' version is the complete absence of Athena on the left, particularly in the light of Morelli's testimony that her upper body was the best preserved part of the painting. Presumably it was a deliberate omission to simplify and conserve space. If this image existed in a vacuum, the absence of Athena might make us hesitate to identify it as showing Diomedes and Aphrodite; the prominence of the shield might even tempt us to interpret it as Thetis handing Achilles his new armor.[5] Nevertheless, in the light of the context and similarities of the panel as a whole, the safest conclusion is that this is Mazois' representation of the Diomedes pier, shifted into a more convenient location. If it is a disappointment that we have found nothing more than a duplicate of a painting that we already knew about, the silver lining is that Mazois gives us our only direct confirmation that the right side of that painting showed a female figure.

The North Wall

If Mazois' reconstructed elevation is not reliable documentary evidence in this case, we are left with only the testimony of the cork model to rely on. We will now examine its representation of the north wall, continuing westwards from the east corner that we have already examined. We saw that the part of the wall to the right of the small entrance is physically divided into two halves (numbers 20 and 21 on Fig. 9), and that the left side has some illusionistic wall painting with similarities to the pillar-style, but apparently no figural painting. So we come next to the small doorway into the apartment to the north of the portico (fig. 14). This area has generally been assumed to have been for the use of the priests of the sanctuary and this seems a reasonable guess. Early visitors often commented on its painted plaster decoration, which consisted of small round tondi showing fauns on large planes of color with delicate decorations. The main surviving feature of these rooms was a painting of Dionysus leaning upon Silenus, who is playing the lyre, which was frequently commented upon and illustrated by early visitors (fig. 47).[6] It was this

[5] As in the now-lost painting from the Macellum as described by Helbig 1868, No. 1322: "L. steht ein Jüngling mit rother Chlamys, in der L. einen Speer, vermuthlich Achill, ihm gegenüber eine weibliche Figur in Chiton und bläulichem Mantel, vermuthlich Thetis. Sie hält in der L. eine goldfarbige Beinschiene und stützt mit der R. einen Schild auf eine Basis, an welcher die andere Beinschiene lehnt. Der Jüngling betrachtet bewundernd den Schild, indem er die R. erhebt."

[6] For illustrations of the decorative context, see Baldassarre et al. 1995, 115, fig. 57 (Morelli) and, slightly differently, Mazois 1812–38, vol. 4, pl. 42; these presumably document different parts of the wall. The cork model also records the decoration of the apartment. Mazois' view is corroborated

feature that gave the temple its short-lived designation as the Temple of Bacchus, an attribution Gell was particularly fond of. We will not dwell upon the apartment, for the decorative scheme was different and the Trojan theme apparently did not extend as far as this. Indeed, Dionysus does not appear in the Homeric pantheon, so it is appropriate that he does not make a public appearance in the portico itself. Nevertheless, the lyre that Silenus plays in this picture is the instrument of Apollo, as Virgil reminds us in the *Eclogues* (6.82–4):

> omnia, quae Phoebo quondam meditante beatus
> audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros,
> ille canit …
>
> All the songs that of old Phoebus rehearsed, while happy Eurotas listened
> and bade his laurels learn by heart – these Silenus sings.

We will, however, return in the next chapter to look at the manner in which this painting was affixed to its wall.

Returning now to the portico proper, we see to the left of the small doorway into the priests' apartment two panels which are visible to a viewer standing within the sanctuary to the right of the temple podium (fig. 48). Because they are not obscured from the front by the temple podium, their state of preservation has been recorded many times over many decades. From the very first sketches of the sanctuary to the advent of photography, many artists chose to record a view of the monument from a point inside the portico to the right of the temple. One of the most pleasant and detailed of these views is by Rossini.[7] He, like most artists, shows a line of plaster fairly low to the ground, with only the bottom of a figural painting surviving in the panel just to the right of the temple podium (number 23 on Fig. 9). Early photographs from this angle, such as one by Giacomo Brogi, tell much the same story, with a bit of plaster loss such that the bottom of that figural painting is gone, if indeed it was ever there (fig. 8).[8] These sources agree in general terms with the cork model, which can provide some additional detail. Just to the left of the doorway we see yet another variant on the pillar-style scheme (number 22 on Fig. 9; fig. 14). The yellow-and-black base is clearly present at the bottom, as is a certain amount of trompe-l'œil architecture on either side. In the middle there is a vertical object which may be a candelabrum intended to support a frame for a figural painting, but it has the unique feature of two figures, one on either side of it. The Brogi photograph confirms the accuracy of the cork model here. No trace

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by a watercolor by Henri Labrouste, which is printed by Bouquillard 2000, 51; see also the version of E. Peroche, (Mascoli 1981, no. 20). Morelli's agrees with a watercolor by Prosper Barbot in the Louvre (RF 27304, Recto), 1820-1822. For a description, see Fiorelli 1860–4, vol. 1, 211–12. There are also illustrations of this room in the archives of the Royal Institute of British Architects by Goldicutt (SD100/2/24) and Woods (SE2/11/9).

[7] Rossini ca. 1831, pl. 43.

[8] A similar view, but in color, is provided in a painting by Theodor Groll (Pompeji: Blick zum Apollo-Tempel, 1891, Stiftung Sammlung Volmer).

Figure 47: Steinbüchel, *Atlas*, vol. 8, pl. D.3

of a figural painting survived, even though the plaster break on the cork model runs fairly high. The second panel to the left of the doorway is in the niche-style (number 23 on Fig. 9; fig. 48). Here we do see the bottom of a figural painting. Brogi's photograph (fig. 8) shows some plaster loss, but adds the information that there were three objects or figures atop the heavy, red frame, below the Trojan painting.

Moving to the left again, early photographic views of the north wall are obstructed by the temple podium and we have to rely exclusively upon the cork model. This shows four panels with a variation on the regular pattern of alternation of niche- and pillar-style panels (number 24–7 on Fig. 9; fig. 48: third to sixth panels from the small doorway on the right). The first of these panels (number 24 on Fig. 9) is pillar-style, as we would expect, but then we have two consecutive niche-style panels (number 25 and 26 on Fig. 9) before coming to another pillar-style panel (number 27 on Fig. 9). Then there is another niche-style panel (number 28 on Fig. 9) and one more before we come to the end of the wall. To get a view of this last panel on the north wall, we need to look from a different angle (fig. 49); the expanse of white ground around the space where the figural painting should

Figure 48: Detail of the 1:100 scale model of Pompeii in the National Archaeological Museum, Naples: western side of the north wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo; author's photograph.

be shows that this was also a niche-style panel (number 29 on Fig. 9). So here again we have two consecutive niche-style panels and the principle of alternation is broken once more. An interesting thing about this stretch of wall is that the cork model promises that three of the five panels on the western side of the wall had figural paintings mostly intact. The problem is that we have only two more Steinbüchel drawings to fill those three locations. The probable explanation for this apparent inconsistency is that one of those three dark squares represented not a surviving painting, but empty, unfinished plaster. This will become apparent when we compare the two pillar-style panels on this stretch of wall with a lithograph from Mazois.

Figure 49: Detail of the 1:100 scale model of Pompeii in the National Archaeological Museum, Naples: north-west corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo; author's photograph.

More Blank Panels

These two pillar-style panels (number 24 and 27 on Fig. 9: fig. 48, third and sixth panels from small doorway on the right) are very similar to each other, though the one on the left has more plaster surviving. They exhibit some differences from the types of pillar-style decoration we have examined thus far, the most important of which has to do with the use of color. In particular, there is little to no use of red here; instead there is a prominence of blue, which was not used at all in the other pillar-style panels we have looked at. This color scheme does, on the other hand, correspond very well to one of the color lithographs in Mazois' account of the temple. We looked at this image earlier when discussing the possibility that more of the panels had empty spaces where Trojan pictures had once been mounted. If we turn our attention now to the decoration around the central blank space, we see that its colors are quite different from what we have been accustomed to seeing. This contrast is easiest to appreciate when comparing the color lithographs of Mazois (fig. 35) and Raoul-Rochette (fig. 5). Apart from the absence of a central panel and a few very small divergences in the ornamentation on the architecture, the main distinction between them is in their utterly different color schemes. In both lithographs the main architectural elements in the foreground are yellow, but the detailing in Mazois' is purple while in Raoul-Rochette's it is dark red. The architecture in the background is shown as light blue by Mazois but light red and dull brown by Raoul-Rochette. The dominance of red in the east-wall version of the pillar style decoration is confirmed by Callet's elevation (fig. 27), except that the browns in the background are given a more greenish hue. The dominance of blue in Mazois' version is shown to be a genuine variant by the agreement of the cork model (fig. 48). The two relevant panels clearly show light blue architecture in the background and dark blue detailing in the foreground.

Figure 50: Detail of a ninteenth-century photograph of the 1:100 cork model of Pompeii, showing the north wall of the sanctuary of Apollo; author's photograph.

There are also some differences between Mazois' color lithograph and these panels of the cork model. The miniature panels appear to be missing the lintel on which the picture frame sits and which should surround the landscape at the bottom. There does seem to be a tree there in both panels, but the architectural element framing it is missing. The main picture frame in both panels is also too big. Instead of sitting comfortably within the illusionistic niche created by the ap-

parently protruding architecture on either side, the figural painting overlaps them. This would make nonsense of the illusion, and it must be the result of a mistake in the process of multiple copying that led to this model. The biggest difference is, of course, that Mazois put a blank white square at the center whereas these panels have darker squares. The one on the right preserves only the bottom part of the central frame, which is filled with a blueish color. The central frame in the panel on the left is mostly intact, except for some damage along the right side, and it seems to have a shadowy figure on the left (fig. 48). Of of Steinbüchel's two remaining drawings, one shows damage on the right side, the other along the top. At first glance, the damage on the right side of the central *pinax* on the cork model might suggest that this could be a good match for the former. But a nineteenth-century photograph of the cork model in an earlier phase of its construction does not appear to show any damage at all there (fig. 50).[9] The model, which has undergone extensive conservation work, presumably sustained this minor damage at some later stage in its existence. We can guess that the main model for Mazois' lithograph was the panel on the left, which the cork model suggests was in a much better state of repair. It is certainly possible that Mazois took some details from elsewhere, such as the Diomedes-Aphrodite pillar on the east wall that he imported into his elevation of the north wall. But that pillar had a figural painting, not a blank space, in its frame. The pillar-style panel just to the south of it (number 16 on Fig. 9) seems to have had an empty frame, as we saw above, but it was the narrow, candelabrum-variant, so it looked very different from Mazois' lithograph. The best solution to these problems is to suppose that these blue-colored pillar-style panels on the north wall on the were the model for Mazois' blue colored lithograph and that both of them had unfinished plaster in the central picture-frame. That featureless, unfinished plaster was represented as pure white in the lithograph and as a darker square in the cork model.

Against that solution, one might object that the cork model seems show a shadowy figure in the painting which was third from the west end (i.e. the second surviving painting from the left in fig. 48). This could be a seated figure on the left and so might correspond to the picture of Achilles receiving Priam that we will discuss in a moment. On the other hand, this detail is very hard to read (fig. 44), and there only appears to be a single figure in the painting, so Priam and Hermes would be missing. On balance, it seems best not to press this detail of the cork model too closely, as it is several removes away from the original. The publication of better photographs of the model might make it possible to make further progress. For the moment, we will conclude that both blue-variant pillar-style panels on the north wall were blank, as Mazois shows them. This implies that the two remaining Steinbüchel drawings came from the two remaining niche-style panels: one near

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[9] Prof. Valentin Kockel points out to me that this photograph seems to show the model at a similar stage of construction as an engraving in Overbeck and Mau 1884, 40–1.

the center of the north wall and the other toward the west end (numbers 25 and 28 on Fig. 9).

The Position of the Figural Paintings

When discussing the number of gaps between the piers in the east wall that were present when the sanctuary was first excavated, we had recourse to a set of measurements of the Forum which Gell kept on the back of a drawing that was later put into his sketchbook. These were divided into 50-foot sections, and Gell recorded what he saw to his right and left as he walked up the western side of the Forum. In the fifth 50-foot section, Gell recorded the final, hollow pier of the Temple of Apollo with the *mensa ponderaria* (number 18 on Fig. 9) and noted that there was another opening into the sanctuary beyond it (number 19 on Fig. 9). The next section, the sixth, reads as follows: "In this 50, 5 col[umns of the Forum]s in place. At 3rd the T[emple] of Bacchus ends L[eft] with Achilles picture". The next entry for this section records the street to the north of the temple and the start of the large warehouse beyond that. What is the "Achilles picture"? The vagueness of the description is extremely frustrating. There are several possibilities. The first is that this is a mistake for "Bacchus picture". Gell has moved beyond the last entrance to the east wall and his next note is the street to the north of the small apartment where the Bacchus painting was found, and the location of the Bacchus painting was between those two points. But Gell at this very early point in the excavation of the sanctuary was calling it the "Temple of Bacchus" precisely because of the subject of the painting hidden away in that small priests' apartment, so that would have been a very odd mistake to make. More importantly, the point of Gell's notes was to write down what he could see from where he was standing, not to record what was hidden behind walls. If that had been his plan, we might have expected him to note the subjects of the paintings on the other side of the piers whose existence he was documenting. The "Achilles picture" was clearly not the Diomedes painting on the opposite side of the pier he had discussed in the previous 50-foot section. This leads to the conclusion that the painting must have been visible from where Gell was standing, outside the sanctuary, just at the entrance at the northeast corner, which is the last thing Gell mentioned in the previous 50-foot section.

The phrase "the T[emple] of Bacchus ends L[eft] with Achilles picture" strongly suggests that this painting was at either the east or the west end of the north wall. But which end? It could be either. And which painting does he mean? There are two remaining Steinbüchel drawings that we have yet to find locations for: the supplication of Achilles by Priam (fig. 54) and the dragging of Hector's body (fig. 52). It is unfortunate that Gell did not refer either to the "Priam picture" or the "Hector picture"; but in the context of the *Iliad*, "Achilles picture" is inevitably ambiguous. The fact that only the legs of Achilles survived in the painting of the dragging of Hector suggests that Gell was more likely to mean the painting of Priam, in
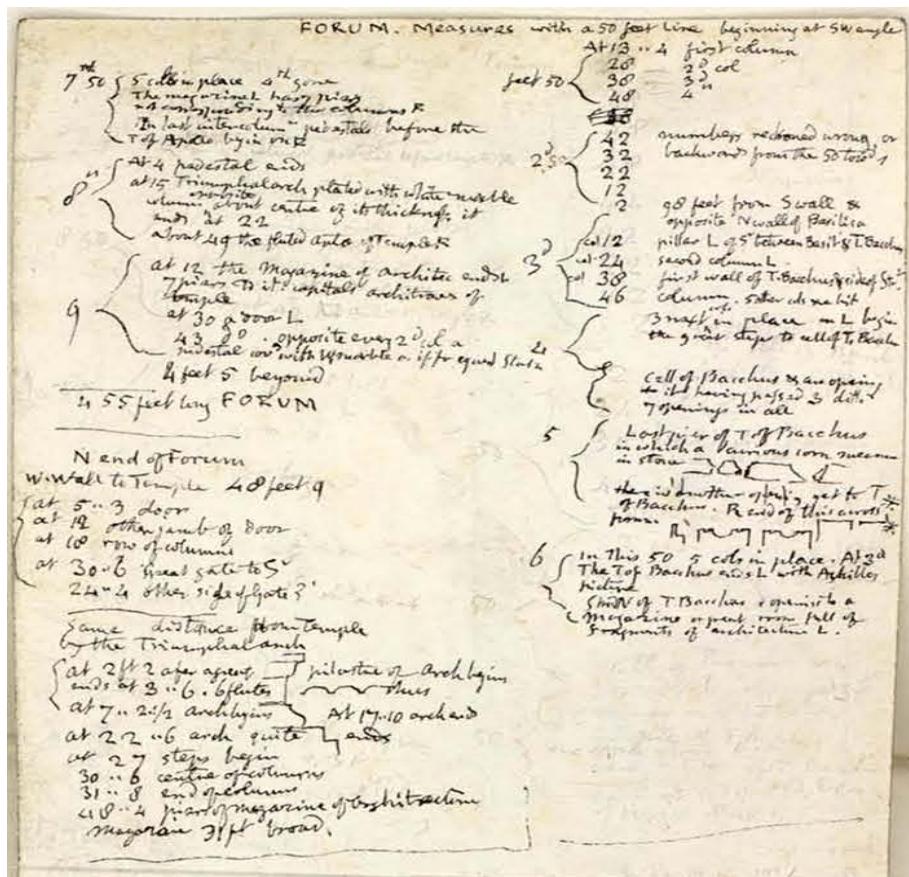
Figure 51: Gell, verso of folio 61 of the sketchbook (vol. 1) for the first volume of *Pompeiana*; Jacques Doucet collection, Institut national de l'histoire de l'art, Paris.

which we can see all of Achilles seated in his tent. Furthermore, we would expect to find that scene at or near the end of a wall, assuming that the narrative of the *Iliad* ended as it started, in a corner of the portico. As we have seen, the cork model suggests that the likeliest positions are two niche-style panels on the western side of the north wall (fig. 48). Gell's words and considerations of symmetry would favor the panel closest to a corner for the end of the narrative of the *Iliad*. It is therefore safest to guess that the Priam painting was the penultimate one at the western end of the north wall. The painting in the very final, north-west corner was destroyed (fig. 49), so it may have shown the burial of Hector, or even a scene from after the events of the *Iliad*. The remaining Steinbüchel drawing, the dragging of Hector, would then have been near the middle of the north wall.

This reconstruction is given some additional support by the verbal reports of early visitors to the portico, who tend to report the paintings in narrative order with

the suggestion that they ran counter-clockwise. For example, there is an account of the subjects of the paintings in the portico in the *Viaggio Pittorico nel Regno delle due Sicilie* of Domenico Cuciniello and Lorenzo Bianchi, a heavily illustrated work that appeared in three volumes in the period 1829–33. The plate illustrating the Temple of Venus (i.e. Apollo) at Pompeii does not show any useful detail, but the accompanying text has some fairly explicit information, which presumably dates to the 1820s, at which point the figural paintings were still legible.[10] They say that in one place ("Qua") is the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon; in another place ("Là") is the dragging of Hector's body, and finally in another place is the supplication of Priam ("Finalmente in altro luogo"). Another apparently counter-clockwise reading is given by Callet, for he not only painted the sanctuary; he also sent back to Paris a written account of the forum area:[11]

> Le Portique est décoré de belles peintures. Les tableaux qui forment le mi-lieu de la décoration des panneaux sont rapportés et représentent différents suject tirés de l'Illiade d'Homère, tels que la colère d'Achille, son combat avec Hector, et celui-ci trainé par Achille autour des murs de Troyes.
>
> The portico is decorated with beautiful paintings. The tableaux which form the centerpieces of the decoration of the panels are preserved and represent different subjects drawn from the *Iliad* of Homer, such as the anger of Achilles, his combat with Hector and the latter dragged by Achilles around the walls of Troy.

Like many viewers, Callet seems to have misidentified the combat of Diomedes with Aeneas as the combat of Achilles and Hector. This error would have been reinforced by the position of that painting near the north wall which did in fact show events from the end of the poem.

Unfortunately, most texts with lists of the subjects of the paintings date from a period in which the they had already disappeared and so their orderings do not constitute independent evidence: they are simply reciting a list of topics, many of which we can now show to be misidentifications that had been handed down over the years.[12] Errors in this traditional catalog of topics include the killing of Hector (i.e. the wounding of Aphrodite), the theft of the Palladium (i.e. Machaon healing Menelaus), and the Greek embassy to Achilles in Book 9 (i.e. Calchas addressing Achilles). Furthermore, there is also at least one early visitor to the sanctuary who had seen the paintings when they were still legible and lists the contents of the Trojan pictures in an apparently random order.[13] The point is not that every observer gave the same order of paintings, but that some early viewers seem to have tried to make sense of the order by constructing a reading that went

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[10] Part 1, vol. 2, p. 78.

[11] Mascoli 1981, 307.

[12] For example, see Niccolini and Niccolini 1854–96, vol. 2, 51, d'Aloe 1851, 29, Dyer 1868, 131, Engelhard 1843, 15 Bonucci 1827, 153, Fiorelli 1875, 238-9, Overbeck and Mau 1884, 103.

[13] Goro von Agyagfalva 1825, 128.

counter-clockwise around the east and north walls. We know that the east wall ended with the events of Book 5, not Book 22, so we can deduce that, after the events depicted on the east wall, the viewer would have had to find the narrative of the middle part of the *Iliad* on one of the other walls where the paintings did not survive, such as the west wall. The narrative would then have jumped back to the northeast corner and continued westward with the final events of the poem. As noted above, this sort of occasional jumping is typical of Iliadic cycles in Pompeii. The result is that the events of the *Iliad* would have concluded in the northwest corner, diametrically opposite from the southeast corner where they began.

The Dragging of Hector

We can now discuss in detail the content of the two paintings that were probably on the western half of the north wall. The first of these is the painting most commonly identified as showing the dragging of Hector's body. In addition to Steinbüchel's line drawing (fig. 52), we also have the original from which it was probably copied, a color painting in tempera by Morelli (fig. 53), which is on the same sheet as his pencil and tempera reproduction and extrapolation of the painting of Diomedes and Athena (fig. 3). An important difference between the two Morelli paintings is that this one does not have any areas in pencil where the artist has indicated speculative reconstruction. On the other hand, the entire top part of the image is missing. The colors and details of Morelli's painting are confirmed by a sketch in Gell's notebook (folio 63, verso). Viewed in its own right, there is a great deal to be said for interpreting the inverted figure as a warrior being thrown from a chariot rather than a corpse being dragged.

 Others have seen the problem. Steinbüchel himself refrained from identifying this image as anything other than "eine Kampfscene", which is remarkably vague in comparison to his other very specific identifications. It is probable that he knew of the vulgate identification of this painting as showing Hector's body and silently rejected it. Several subsequent scholars have struggled with the difficulty of reconciling the details of Steinbüchel's drawing with the persistent textually-reported tradition of a painting showing the dragging of Hector's body.[14] Both Helbig's and Schefold's catalogs of Pompeian paintings note the contradiction, stating plainly that Steinbüchel's image shows a "falling warrior" and not a body being dragged.[15]

 The issue here is the posture of the inverted figure, which is sprawled in a very naturalistic way: his hips are above the level of the floor of the chariot, and his right arm is raised above his head as if to break his fall. His knees are in mid-air

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[14] For example, Bulas 1929, 96 supposes that in the portico there was another painting of the dragging of Hector's body which was not reproduced by Steinbüchel, but Gell's notebook makes it clear that this is the image that was wrongly identified.

[15] Schefold 1957, 192: "Hector geschleift? … Vielleicht Steinbüchel D.1, wo aber ein herab-stürzender Krieger dargestellt ist. Tod des Troilus?" See also Helbig 1868, 1324 with p. 462.

Figure 52: Steinbüchel, *Atlas*, vol. 8, pl. D.1

and, if we follow the greaves on his shins leftward, his feet must be likewise in mid-air, inside the chariot, where they are obscured from view. The ankles do not come near the axle or the floorboard. The left leg might just manage to touch the middle of the front board of the chariot. The knee of the right leg is drawn a bit further back, to the point where we can see the mid-point of the calf in mid-air, just inside the rear edge of the chariot. It looks as though the foot of this leg is suspended in mid-air. The basic problem with identifying this as the dragging of Hector's body is that it is not at all clear that the ankles of this body are tied to anything.[16]

   If this is not the dragging of Hector's body, what is it? One strategy would be to follow Steinbüchel and call it a generic battle-scene. There are plenty of episodes in the *Iliad* where warriors are killed and thrown from a chariot. The fact that the falling figure does not appear to be pierced by a spear is not necessarily a fatal objection, as he could have been wounded some other way. For example, in Patroclus' final confrontation with Hector, he kills the Trojan's charioteer, Cebriones, by throwing a stone. Homer describes how he falls like a diver from the chariot and Patroclus taunts Hector about how the charioteer dove as if fishing for oys-

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[16] Compare the Roman mosaic discussed by Bulas 1950, 118 with pl. 20B, where the posture of the body makes it similarly difficult to tell if this is the dragging of Hector's body or someone falling from a chariot.

Figure 53: Morelli, pencil, ink and tempera sketch; other part of fig. 3. Naples archive (ADS 696).

ters (16.726–50). This is near to a climactic moment in the epic and there is an emphasis on Cebriones' fall, so could this be what the painting shows? If so, the seated figure would have to be another of Patroclus' Trojan victims, for his dejection suggests that he is a captive or wounded; he is wearing trousers and so must be Trojan.[17] On this interpretation, the standing warrior in the background with one foot in the chariot would be Hector in the act of dismounting to confront and kill Patroclus. Thus the scene might show the point when Patroclus' fortunes take a sudden reversal. This is a possibility, but without any context or clearer indication, it would be hard to pin-point this or any particular battle-scene with confidence. There are other places in the *Iliad* outside of direct battle in which a figure falls from a chariot. Athena knocks Sthenelus from Diomedes' chariot and mounts it herself (5.835–41). The problem here is that the figure in the background, who would be Athena mounting, has bare legs and greaves, whereas we would expect a full-length peplos, as usual. Also, the dejected Trojan would be out of place. Another possibility is the chariot race in the funeral games for Patroclus, where Eumelus is thrown from his chariot after Athena breaks his yoke.[18] Against that, we have the figure in the background, who cannot be Athena, and the fact that

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[17] I owe this point to an anonymous reviewer.

[18] *Il*.23.391–7; a suggestion of another anonymous reader.

the charioteers raced solo. Also, the seated figure would again be hard to explain.

At this point, we may return to the dragging of Hector as perhaps the least problematic answer. We can look for help with the problem of the figure's posture in the text of Homer and in the *tabulae Iliacae*. Homer does not say to what part of Achilles' chariot Hector's ankles were fastened, but many ancient artists visualized it as being somewhere near the bottom-rear.[19] The dragging of Hector was a very popular motif in ancient art and often a stiff and horizonal corpse is a prominent feature, even in those images that clearly show, via the walls of Troy in the background, that this was the first dragging of the body immediately after Hector's death rather than one of the subsequent trips around the funeral mound of Patroclus.[20] There is a problem with those representations, however. Presumably, Homeric chariots did not come with a trailer hitch, and tying a body to the spinning axle would pose difficulties. So where did Achilles tie the thong that he put though Hector's ankles?

There is, in fact, a place on the Homeric chariot to which one might tie a leather strap. When Diomedes wants his own charioteer, Sthenelus, to steal the horses of Aeneas while he engages him in battle, he instructs him to tie the reins of his own chariot to the rim ($ἄντυξ$) to keep it steady while he is away (*Il.*5.262 and 322). The necessary implication is that this rim was raised and separate from the body of the chariot at least in some small part if not entirely, so as to permit the reins to be tied around it.[21] If Achilles tied Hector's ankles to this front rail, then his body would naturally have been inverted with only his head and shoulders trailing on the ground behind. Three of the *tabulae Iliacae* seem to show precisely this arrangement. The Capitoline, New York and Tarentine tablets all show Hector's legs fully inside the chariot, with his torso hanging out its rear and only his head and shoulders and arms clearly touching the ground.[22] Furthermore, both tablets show Achilles' horses rearing up and about to take off as in the Pompeian painting. It is true that all of the tablets show the chariot moving to the right, whereas the painting has it moving to the left; but we have already seen the order of scenes reversed between the cycle of paintings and the tablets, so it would not be too surprising if individual scenes were reversed as well. The presence of city walls on the tablets indicates that this depicts the first dragging of Hector's body immediately after his death.[23]

On this reading, the surprisingly elevated posture of Hector's lower body is

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[19] The word used ($δίφρος$, 22.398, passage quoted below) must in this context simply indicate the chariot as a whole.

[20] See LIMC s.v. "Achilleus" 584–641.

[21] See LSJ s.v. $ἄντυξ$.

[22] Sadurska 1964, pl. 1, 2 and 13; Hector's body is not clearly visible on the second Veronese tablet.

[23] The walls are apparent on the New York and second Verona tablets: Valenzuela Montenegro 2004, 82–3, 188, 195.

not a problem, but a result of the artist paying close attention to the nature of the Homeric war-chariot and also to the text of the *Iliad*, which says (22.397–8):

> ἐς σφυρὸν ἐκ πτέρνης, βοέους δ' ἐξῆπτεν ἱμάντας,
> ἐκ δίφροιο δ' ἔδησε, κάρη δ' ἕλκεσθαι ἔασεν
>
> He pierced the tendons of both his feet from heel to ankle, and fastened
> thongs of oxhide, and bound them to his chariot, but left the head to trail.

The artist here rightly saw that Homer's emphasis on the trailing of Hector's head is not just a pathetic detail, but also a consequence of attaching the thongs to the only available place, at the front. The subsequent lines of the epic emphasize the fouling of Hector's once beautiful head and hair (22.399–405), which is likewise both pathetic and visually specific. The artist's interpretation also leads to a striking visual image. When the body of Hector lies thus half inside the chariot of Achilles and half hanging out of the back it emphasizes that they are in a sense traveling the same journey as companions: Achilles knows that his own death will follow shortly after Hector's. The only problem is that this approach leads to a visual composition which, in the absence of narrative cues, could easily be taken to show a stricken warrior falling out of his own chariot. This may have been a source of confusion even in antiquity, not only in Pompeii, but perhaps in the Roman model for the portico. We will explore in Chapter 6 the possibility that Aeneas makes precisely this same interpretive error when viewing the paintings in Carthage.

Priam and Achilles

The remaining Steinbüchel drawing has always been identified as showing the supplication of Priam by Achilles from Book 24 (fig. 54). It appears to show a bearded man in a posture of supplication before a seated warrior. The trace of a beard excludes the possibility that this is Patroclus begging Achilles to intervene on behalf of the hard-pressed Greeks. Another possibility that would have to be taken more seriously is that it shows Phoenix supplicating Achilles in Book 9.[24] On this reading, the figure behind Achilles is Patroclus, who is with Achilles when the embassy arrives. The standing figure is either Odysseus or Aias, the third member of the embassy presumably standing next to him in the damaged part of the painting on the right.

The difficulty in differentiating these two scenes is illustrated by their very close similarity in an Iliadic cycle elsewhere in Pompeii. In the House of M. Loreius Tiburtinus, there is a well-known room with two Trojan cycles painted one above the other, the lower one of which is based on the *Iliad*.[25] In the lower cycle,

[24] Various catalogs of the Iliadic paintings in the portico list the embassy to Achilles in Book 9 as one of the subjects, but these are probably thinking of the painting we have identified as Calchas addressing Achilles; see e.g. Schefold 1957, 192.

[25] The layout of the scenes in this cycle is helpfully illustrated by Clarke 1991, fig. 118, p. 204.

the chronological sequence of events in the *Iliad* is violently disrupted after the scene of Phoenix' embassy to Achilles: it jumps to the starting point on the opposite wall and then circles around in the opposite direction to finish back at this same point. It may be that the purpose of this narrative disjunction was to stage a juxtaposition of the embassy to Achilles and Priam's supplication of Achilles in order to make a comment about the symmetry of the plot of the *Iliad*.[26] Both scenes show a man on his knees in an identical manner before the seated hero. The visual puzzle is to identify the repetition, figure out the difference and use it as a clue to the disrupted narrative order. If the kneeling figure in Steinbüchel's drawing were obviously wearing headgear, a diadem or a Phrygian cap, as Priam normally does, there would be no ambiguity.[27] On the other hand, the kneeling figure does wear a garment with sleeves, which should mean that he is a non-Greek.[28] In the *Iliad*, Priam must kneel before Achilles to clasp his knees (24.478), whereas Phoenix is not explicitly said to kneel. So Priam seems on balance the most likely identification for this scene. The figure standing in the background behind Priam would then be Hermes, who would still be in disguise as a soldier, for the headgear he is wearing is not customary for the god. The missing right side of the painting might have shown the ransom that Priam brought with him.

Once again, this is a composition of figures very common in the *tabulae Iliacae*.[29] The figure of Priam kneeling before the seated Achilles often serves as the climax of the narration of the events in the *Iliad*. Sometimes, as on the Capitoline tablet, the position of the figures is reversed, depending on the needs of the visual narrative. Sometimes the figures are shown as they are in this painting, with Priam approaching from the right. The freedom with which the artists of the *tabulae* inverted scenes such as this to their mirror-image suggests that the fresco artist(s) might well have done the same. This in turn provides some collateral support for our guess that the events on the north wall ran from right to left, for in both of these paintings the implied motion is in that same direction: the horses of Achilles drag Hector out of the painting to the left and Priam approaches the seated Achilles from the right.

All of the representations of this scene on the *tabulae* are generally similar to the painting, but one stands out as particularly close. On the tiny tablet in

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[26] For a different explanation, see Clarke 1991, 206.

[27] See *LIMC* s.v. "Achilleus" 670–716. The supplication of Priam is an extraordinarily popular scene in Roman art, and in the vast majority of representations Priam is wearing a Phrygian cap. In a few he has his head covered in another way, such as with a fold of his cloak, and in some examples it is impossible to distinguish. A good parallel for a bare-headed Priam in this scene is very hard to find. On the other hand, Steinbüchel's drawing of the head of the kneeling figure is vague enough that headgear cannot be ruled out.

[28] As an anonymous reader points out.

[29] The ransom of Hector's body is shown on the Capitoline, Froehner 21, New York, and second Verona tablets as well as the small fragment with only this scene: see Valenzuela Montenegro 2004, 89–91, 183–4, 190, 196 and 214–15.
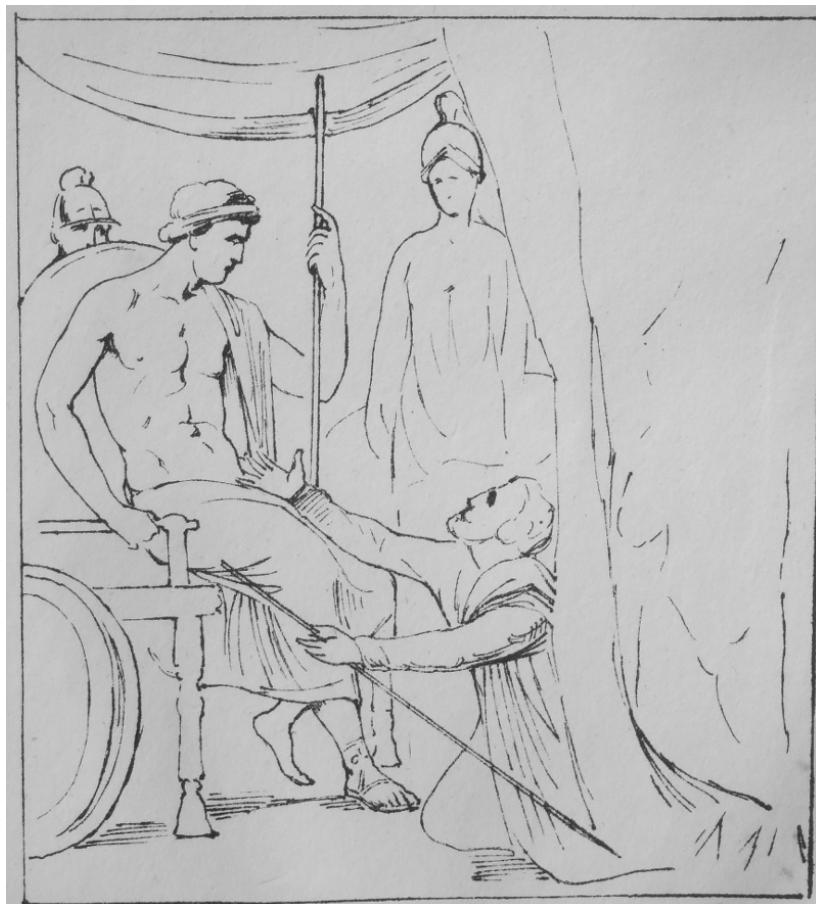
Figure 54: Steinbüchel, *Atlas*, vol. 8, pl. C.2

Paris which shows this scene alone, Achilles is seated in his tent on a throne in an identical posture (fig. 55). His upper body is bare and is turned toward us; his right hand hangs by his side, slightly bent at the elbow; his left hand must grasp a spear or staff resting on the ground, with that forearm vertical and the elbow bent. In front of him Priam kneels and stretches both hands out, the right hand higher than the left. The only significant difference in the depiction of the figures is that Priam is wearing a mantle over his head. But we have already seen that the apparent lack of headgear for Priam is an eccentric feature of Steinbüchel's drawing.[30] It should also be noted that the posture of the seated Achilles, with one hand grasping his staff, is identical on the Capitoline tablet, except that he is facing in the opposite direction. So once again we have a composition of figures

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[30] Valenzuela Montenegro 2004, 214, n. 1268 notes that the tablet is now so badly worn that the covering of Priam's head can no longer be seen, so we have to trust Jahn's testimony.

identical to one of the *tabulae Iliacae*. The next painting from the portico we will examine will be from outside the story of the *Iliad*, so it is worth pausing here to emphasize that we can identify extremely close parallels in the *tabulae Iliacae* for all of the well-documented Iliadic paintings in the portico. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that they both took, in some degree, very important inspiration from the same Iliadic cycle.
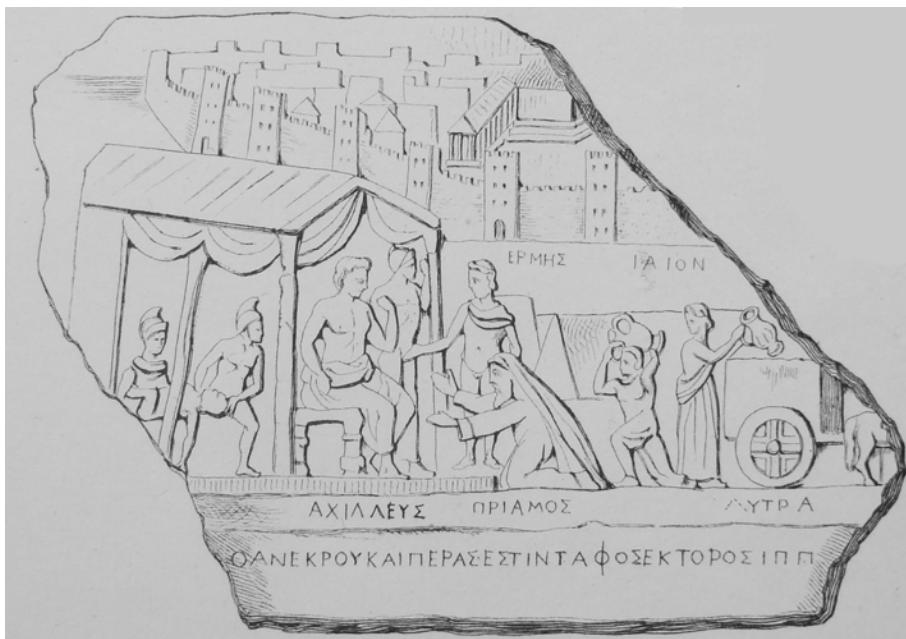
Figure 55: Detail of a line drawing of the small *tabula Iliaca* with the ransom of Hector, from Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (1873), pl. 4F.

The Dwarfs

Before we turn to the meagre evidence for the west and south walls, we should say a few words about one minor feature which is securely attested there and elsewhere, the Nilotic landscape scenes with architecture and pygmies that gave the building its original name of House of the Dwarfs. One of the peculiar features of the first volume of *Pompeiana* is that Gell and Gandy provide very many lithographs of the Nilotic scenes, but despite that clear interest in the painted decoration of this monument, their book pays relatively little attention to the Trojan paintings. It seems that Gell transmitted his record of the temple to Gandy in London at a time before the Iliadic theme of the temple had been clearly recognized. The sketches in Gell's notebook do record the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon

and the so-called dragging of Hector, but nothing beyond that, and the text never discusses the Iliadic theme. On the other hand, Gell and Gandy provide the best documentation of these Nilotic images that other sources, more focussed on the Trojan theme, tend to ignore (see e.g. fig. 56).
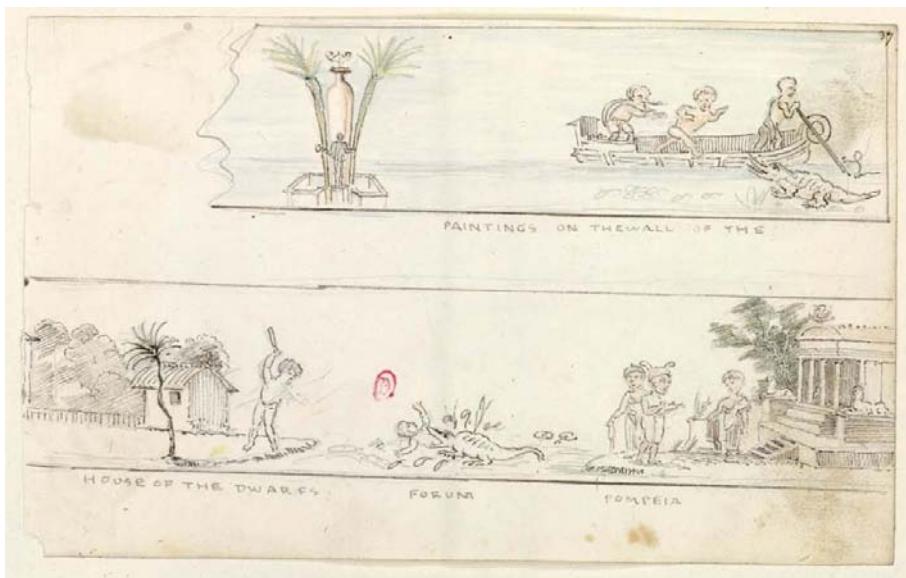
Figure 56: Gell, folio 62 of sketchbook (vol. 1) for the first volume of *Pompeiana*; Jacques Doucet collection, Institut national de l'histoire de l'art, Paris.

Gell's notebook gives some information on the location of these images, mainly on the west and south walls. Labels indicate that several of the originals came from the west wall.[31] The plan in his notebook labels the east side of the south wall as containing "paintings of Dwarfs", and several of the labels on individual drawings confirm this.[32] It would be wrong to think that these features were only on the west and south walls, however, as one of these architectural landscapes is indicated as coming from the east wall.[33] So it seems that these were a minor element in the general decorative scheme and they are mainly associated with the west and south walls precisely because little else of that scheme survived there.[34] In terms of content, they seem to show pygmies at a variety of occupations, some peaceful, some not. In addition to Gell's drawings, we also have some sketches in color by Morelli

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[31] E.g. on folio 64 "West side, Temple of Bacchus", and the verso "Temple of Venus, W. Side".

[32] Folio 61: "In the Temple of Bacchus, wall next the Basilica", and folio 71 "In Temple of Bacchus, near S.E. angle".

[33] Folio 19, verso: "Painting on the piers dividing the T. of Bacchus from the Portico of the Forum".

[34] In addition, several are identified as coming from the chamber of Bacchus, which presumably means the apartment to the north.

(fig. 57). Other images in this vein simply show architecture in a landscape, and it is not clear if these represent a different element in the overall design or are simply a variant.

Figure 57: Morelli, pencil, ink and tempera sketch. Naples archive (ADS 697).

Another question is where in the overall pillar- and/or niche-style decorative scheme these images figured as a minor feature. The predominant shape of the panels seems to be long and low. It is possible that these might have come from the black insert at the base of the pillar-style panels, but the evidence does not point in that direction. Raoul-Rochette shows the north pillar of the east wall as having a still-life with tableware in that insert (fig. 5), while Mazois renders it as blank in his elevations of both the east and the north walls (figs. 26 and 46). Gell and Gandy's *Pompeiana* adds a bit of detail:[35]

> Around the walls of the porticoes, at 2 feet 6 inches from the ground, run
> a series of paintings, of dwarfs and architectural subjects.

This strongly suggests that the architectural and pygmy scenes were variants of the same design element, which appeared fairly close to the ground. A little under a meter from the floor seems too high for the bottom register of the pillar-style. But there is a register of the niche-style higher up from the ground that would fit very well with this account, for Callet's elevation of the east wall shows a number of long, low panels whose contents are a good match for these Nilotic landscapes. Directly beneath the large red frame that surrounds the white field around the central picture-frame is another red frame, low and rectangular, which rests in turn upon the top of the bottom register of the panel. In the Calchas-panel, we see something that looks like architecture in a landscape. In the next niche with the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles, Callet shows us the outline of some shadowy figures fighting and perhaps hunting. This corresponds to the other major theme of those paintings: battles of pygmies against each other and against animals, such

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[35] Gell and Gandy 1817–1819, 227–8 (on plates 54–55).

as crocodiles. It seems most likely, therefore, that Gell took these "dwarf" scenes mainly from the lower parts of surviving niche-style panels around the four walls, including the west and south walls, where his notebook attests that they survived and where the lack of evidence suggests that, higher up, the Trojan pictures did not, by and large, survive.

Did the pygmies mean anything? One approach would be to dismiss these as simple examples of Nilotic genre scenes which are found widely in Pompeian painting.[36] But even the commonest design element can take on a pointed meaning when used in a context which activates its latent significance. That is what happens when the sub-epic struggles of the pygmies are juxtaposed with the grand, epic themes of the Trojan paintings. Bonucci, who saw the portico before the frescoes had been destroyed, understood brilliantly the point of the contrast:[37]

> Nelle altre [pitture] si vede ricordata qualche scena delle battaglie de' Pigmei conto le Grù. Comico contrapposto, col quale il Pittore ha voluto forse tradurci in diverso linguaggio l'ironia con cui Omero solea contemplare la gagliardìe de' topi e de' ranocchi.

> In the other pictures are recorded several scenes from the battles of the pygmies versus the cranes. A humorous counterpoint, by means of which the painter meant perhaps to translate into a different language the irony with which Homer used to contemplate the heroic exploits of the frogs and mice.

In other words, the struggles of the pygmies were more than a random sub-epic element but belonged to a long existing tradition of generic play. Pygmies at war had been used as an ironic counterpoint to the Trojan War ever since the simile at the start of the third book of the *Iliad*, where the noise of the advancing Trojans is compared to that of the cranes when they attack the pygmies.[38] From a Roman point of view, equally important was the passage from the prologue to the *Aetia* in which Callimachus applied the noise of the cranes attacking pygmies to bad, long-winded poetry.[39] Callimachus was not criticizing Homer, of course, but rather his incompetent imitators. In the present context, therefore, the Nilotic scenes have a particularly satirical meaning: not merely a mock-epic juxtaposition, but a pointed allusion to the dangers of quasi-Homeric bombast. Does this reminder of the perils of following Homer too closely as a model apply to painters, or only to poets? Perhaps, like the Homeric tag on Zeuxis' *Helen*, these pygmies serve to point out that there are limitations on poets which do not apply to painters. A poet who follows Homer too closely risks seeming small in comparison, whereas the painter of the large panels in this portico can engage with that model as an equal.

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[36] Thus Moormann 2011, 81–2. See also Rostovtzeff 1911, 57–8.

[37] Bonucci 1827, 153

[38] *Iliad* 3.1–8.

[39] As Marco Fantuzzi has emphasized to me; see Harder 2012, vol. 2, 44–7.

The West Wall

The west wall poses particular problems, and we have no evidence that any Trojan paintings survived there. It generally rises to a lesser height than the other walls of the sanctuary and the cork model shows almost no painted plaster along its length. The position of the temple within the large cork model of the city makes it difficult to get a clear view of this wall, but there is a very small bit of plaster near the floor at the southern end (fig. 58).[40] This shows only the very bottom register, but there is enough to confirm that the decorative theme of this wall as well was alternating pillar-style and niche-style panels. Starting from the south end and moving north, we find the yellow base with black insert of the pillar-style, then a hint of the deep red base of the niche-style; the pattern repeats with vestiges of the pillar-style, then niche-style, then pillar-style (numbers 31–35 on Fig. 9). Gell's information that there were dwarf-paintings on this wall suggests that the plaster on the west wall survived to a somewhat greater height when he visited than is shown on the cork model. But was it high enough to preserve any figural paintings?

Figure 58: Detail of the 1:100 scale model of Pompeii in the National Archaeological Museum, Naples: southern end of west wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo.

The only early view of the west wall I have been able to find comes from the papers of John Goldicutt in the archives of the Royal Institute of British Architects, an institution which he helped to found.[41] A peculiarity about this set of Pompeian drawings is that they are annotated in two different hands. One artist has tiny, precise handwriting and always writes in French. The other forms much larger and sloppier letters and prefers to write in English, but occasionally clarifies in French the minuscule writing of the first hand; this is presumably Goldicutt. He was in Pompeii in 1816–17, after a period of study in Paris; until shortly before that, Naples had been under French rule. One explanation that has been offered for the French annotations on these drawings is that, as an Englishman, Goldicutt may have found it more difficult than a Frenchman to obtain permission to sketch the ruins, and that he may therefore have acquired the work of another artist to

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[40] There is another tiny trace of decoration behind the cella of the temple, but it is very hard to distinguish; see the left side of fig. 49.

[41] SD100/3(1-26): "Drawings of Pompeii: Temples of Aesculapius, Serapis and Venus, the Amphitheater, Basilica and Comic Theater, also views of the ruins in the Forum, 1816".

supplement his own.[42]
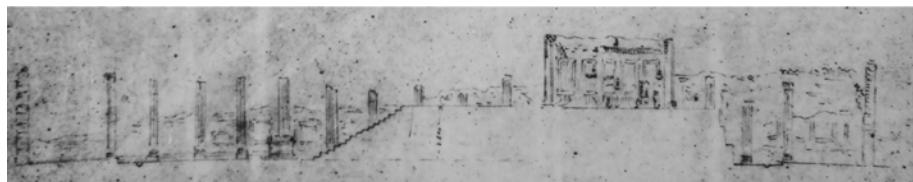
Figure 59: Detail of a photograph in the collection of the Getty Research Institute (2002.M.16, Box 428, 611) of a drawing of the western elevation of the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii (labeled "temple de Venus") by an anonymous French acquaintance of John Goldicutt in the archives of the Royal Institute of British Architects. RIBA SD100/3/16 (original numbering 46).

One French sketch in Goldicutt's collection, which is labeled in the minute hand "temple de Venus" (as it was then called), has at the bottom a very hasty, informal view of the west elevation of the sanctuary (fig. 59). On either side of the temple podium one can see squares between the columns of the portico, which might at first glance seem to be figural paintings. A closer look, however, shows that the tops of these squares are below the level of the top of the temple podium, whereas the elevations of the east wall show that over there the bottoms of the figural panels were just above the top of the podium. So the squares on the elevation of the west wall must designate not figural paintings, but merely the presence of decorated plaster. Both south and north of the podium, the plaster seems to rise to a point just below the level of the top of the podium, but there is some uncertainty as to which line represents the top of the wall and which represents the plaster break. Nevertheless, this sketch offers fairly good evidence that immediately after excavation the plaster survived to a level just below the figural paintings along a considerable length of the wall. This fits with the rest of the evidence: Gell attests that there were "dwarf" paintings here, which seem to have come from a level a bit below the Trojan paintings; and no paintings from the middle part of the *Iliad*, which might have gone here, seem to have survived.

The reason the plaster decayed so rapidly in the period before the state represented by the cork model was probably related to its unusual construction. This is one of the features of the sanctuary that early visitors note most frequently. We have already seen that there were places in the portico where the figural paintings were mounted separately on the wall. This was apparently the practice on the west wall, and for more than just the Trojan pictures. Many reports indicate that the wall was provided with a second surface on which the painted plaster was mounted. Callet says:[43]

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[42] Thus Salmon 2000, 81.

[43] Mascoli 1981, 307.

> La manière dont est construite la partie du mur, du côté de la petite rue,
> est ingénieuse et très propre à garantir les peintures de l'humidité. Le stuc
> sur lequel ces peintures existent pose, en cet endroit, sur de grandes tuiles
> qui laissent entre elles et le mur un espace de 4 à 5 pouces. Ces tuiles sont
> attachées par des grandes clous et isolent ainsi les peintures de toute espèce
> d'humidité.
>
> The way the part of the wall on the side of the little street is built is ingenious
> and very appropriate for protecting the paintings from moisture. The stucco
> containing these paintings rests in this location on large tiles which leave
> between them and the wall a space of 4 to 5 inches. These tiles are fastened
> with large nails and thus isolate the paintings from any kind of moisture.

The idea that this false surface was designed for the purpose of keeping the plaster
away from moisture is the explanation inevitably offered by those who report this
feature. The blind alley behind the west wall is thus frequently assumed by early
visitors to have been an aqueduct. This seemed to provide an explanation for why
all the plaster on this wall needed particular protection from damp. As the British
architect Joseph Woods noted: "The west wall has a coat of tiles to receive stucco
on account of aequeduct [sic] behind".[44] Gell's plan annotates the west wall with
"Tiles nailed on to prevent damp", and the space behind the wall has the words
"supposed (?) watercourse".[45] The Austrian military engineer Ludwig Goro von
Agyagfalva waxes enthusiastic about the technology:[46]

> An der westlichen Seite der Umfassung sind die Malereien auf hohle, mit
> kachelartigen Ziegeln gemachte Wände angebracht, um sie von der Feuchtigkeit
> des daranstossenden Wasser-Canals zu sichern. Eine nachahmungswürdige
> Vorsicht bei Wandgemälden!
>
> On the western side of the precinct the paintings are fitted on hollow walls
> made with tile-like bricks in order to protect them from the moisture of
> the water canal running behind. A precaution for wall paintings well worth
> imitating!

Steinbüchel likewise supposes that the purpose of the false wall was to guard
against dampness. In an earlier volume of his *Atlas*, he gives an illustration of what
one of these wall-tiles looked like. It shows a square tile with a boss at each corner
to act as a spacer. The text explains that these were nailed to the wall with the
bosses creating a gap between the tile and the wall, so that the paintings on the
tile were protected from damp. Steinbüchel is unclear as to how much of the west
wall was covered thus: he says that the enclosing wall of the whole portico was
constructed in this way and then notes that the double-wall is clearly visible on
the left (i.e. the west side) of his elevation of the north wall, which was copied

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[44] RIBA drawings archive, SE2/11/9. On Woods in Pompeii, see Salmon 2000, 78–86

[45] See fig. 1, where the reading of the first word is uncertain, and is written upside-down relative
to the second.

[46] Goro von Agyagfalva 1825, 128.

Figure 60: Detail of fig. 45, showing blind alley and *tegulae mammatae* affixed to west wall.

from Mazois.[47] When we go back to Mazois' original watercolor for the published engraving that Steinbüchel copied, we see that the Austrian was quite right. On the far left, we can see in profile the little blind alley, then the portico wall, and then a cross-section of the false wall; even the nails holding the tiles are visible (fig. 60). So here we have more evidence, even if Mazois' elevation is a reconstruction rather than documentary, that there were indications that the entirety of the west wall was once covered in tiles.

Fortunately, we have an even more precise account of how the tiles were ar-

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[47] "… zeigen die Seitenwände des umgebenden Säulenganges ganz diesen Bau, und auf der einen Seite (auf unserer Abbildung dem Betrachter links) ist diese Doppelwand deutlich erkennbar" (Steinbüchel 1833, vol. 7, pl. 42, figs. 1a and 1b). In the words that follow, stating that this was where the figural paintings were found ("Da sind auch die Frescomalereien noch erhalten, welche die Tafeln VIII, B. C. D. im nächsten Hefte enthalten."), we can infer that he was speaking loosely of the portico in general, for in the next volume he more accurately notes that they were mainly found on the right of the main entrance ("an der Wand rechts vom Haupteingange"), which is the east wall.
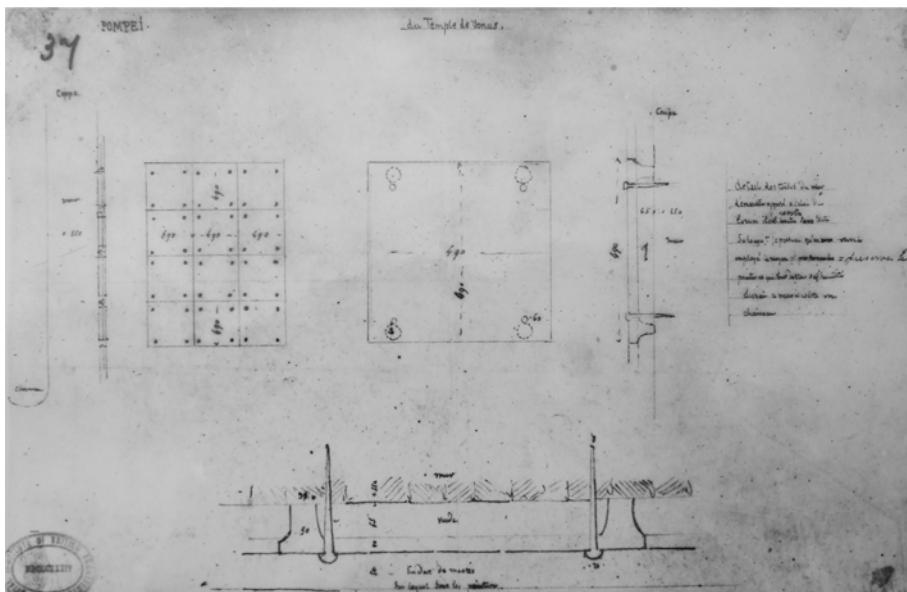
Figure 61: Photograph in the collection of the Getty Research Institute (2002.M.16, Box 428, 611) of a drawing of the western elevation of the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii by an anonymous French acquaintance of John Goldicutt in the archives of the Royal Institute of British Architects. RIBA SD100/3/7 (original numbering 37).

ranged on the west wall in the form of another sketch by the unidentified French acquaintance of John Goldicutt (fig. 61). This sheet has cross-sectional views of the tiles from various sides which fully document their mode of attachment. Each tile was 490mm square with a spacer and nail at each corner. One view shows a grid of three tiles wide by four tiles high, which, if it began at the ground, would be about 2m high, or a bit below the height of the temple podium, which the elevation of the west wall by the same artist gives as 2.5m. Thus the French architect's indication of the height of the tiles agrees in general with his indication of the maximum surviving height of the plaster. The main annotation on the right side seems to read as follows, where the words in round brackets indicate clarifications in the second hand which I presume to belong to Goldicutt:[48]

> detail des tuiles du mur d'enceinte opposé a celui du forum il est (revêtu) [dans?] toute sa longu[eur]. Je présume qu'on (aura) employé ce moyen p[our] (préserver les) peintures qui sont dessus de l'humidité dernière ce mur il existe un chaineau.

> Detail of the tiles on the perimeter wall across from the forum side. It is covered all along its length. I presume that this means was employed to

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[48] See fig. 61: the supplements in parentheses are Goldicutt's; those in square brackets are mine.

protect the paintings which are on top from moisture. Behind the wall there
is an aqueduct.

What is most interesting about this annotation is the explicit indication that this
extraordinary method of rendering the west wall was carried out throughout its
entire length, which confirms the implications of the accounts quoted above. That
is not to say that the full length of tiles survived. A plan of the temple in the same
collection of Goldicutt's drawings shows two thin lines along the west wall which
may indicate the tiles. If so, there may have been two gaps in the tiling. In any
case, there was clearly enough of it surviving for Goldicutt's French informant to
infer that it originally ran the full length of the wall.

Figure 62: Photograph of the blind alley behind the west wall of the Sanctuary of
Apollo in Pompeii, looking south. From Dobbins et al. 1998, fig. 3, p. 742.

The images provided by Steinbüchel and Goldicutt's French informant clearly
show a variant of tiles which are a standard part of Roman construction: these
are often given the name *tegulae mammatae*, or nippled tiles. The "nipple" is the
spacer or boss on the rear which creates the uniform gap between the course of
tiles and the wall to which they are nailed.[49] These were used in the construction
of baths, to extend the channel of warm air from the hypocaust up along the walls
in order to radiate heat sideways into the room. This is the context in which Pliny
speaks of them; but Vitruvius mentions them in the context of wall painting.[50]
In this passage, the Roman architect is discussing methods to defeat dampness

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[49] For illustrations, see Adam 1999, figs. 629–31, 268–9.

[50] Pliny, *NH* 35.159; the text of Vitruvius (7.4.2) might also be *hamatae tegulae* or hooked tiles.

when decorating a wall, and he seems to recommend precisely the practice that was observed in the temple portico:[51]

> sin autem aliqui paries perpetuos habuerit umores, paululum ab eo rece-datur et struatur alter tenuis distans ab eo, quantum res patietur …
>
> But if any wall is constantly damp, then a small gap should be left and a second, thin wall should be constructed, as far apart from the first wall as the project permits.

As a consequence of the assumption that this feature of the west wall was to protect against dampness, many observers in the early nineteenth century assumed that the narrow, blind alley that separates the wall from the adjacent private houses was part of an aqueduct. The "chaineau" or aqueduct which Goldicutt's sketch notes as running behind the west wall is clearly labelled as such on a cross-section on the far left side of the same sheet of paper (fig. 61), where it is clear that what is meant is the very narrow space on the far side of the wall. This is Callet's "petite rue" and it must be the same feature behind all of the allusions to an aqueduct or "Wasser-Canal". It seems almost absurd now that this blind alley might once have been thought to be an aqueduct, for it has obvious dead ends into via Marina at one end and the vicolo del Gallo at the other (see photograph, fig. 62). What needs to be remembered, however, is that at this early stage the *insula* to the west of the temple, where the Casa di Trittolemo (vii.7.2) is located, had not yet been excavated, so the length and nature of this dead space and the fact that it has no opening on either end may not have been as apparent as it is today. Our search for an explanation for this remarkable aspect of the fabric of the west wall will have to wait until the next chapter, after we have discussed the phases of construction of the portico.

Nineteenth-century reports of the sanctuary cease to make prominent mention of the false terracotta wall at a fairly early stage, so most of it presumably succumbed to the elements and disappeared quite early on. Nevertheless, there seem to be a few traces left. In her discussion of the temple, V. Sampaolo identifies *tegulae mammatae* in a photograph of the west wall.[52] I could not see this on a more recent visit to the temple, but it may be hidden behind some large architectural fragments which obscured part of the wall. At the very north end of the west wall, at the corner where it meets the north wall, there are two pieces of terracotta down near the floor. There is an empty space behind one of them, large enough to insert one's hand, as can be seen in the photo (fig. 63). This is presumably a trace of a genuine feature of the sanctuary, one which seemed to the earliest visitors to

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It is possible that both names are valid alternatives, however, for some such tiles have curved flanges at the edges rather than nipple-shaped bosses near the corners. See Ginouvès 1985–92, vol. 3, 108 and Liou, Zuinghedau, and Cam 1995, 120–1.

[51] Vitruvius 7.4.1.

[52] Baldassarre et al. 1990–9, vol. 7, 295, n. 13.

Figure 63: Terracotta embedded in plaster at the north-west corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii; author's photograph.

the temple compound to be one of its most remarkable features.

The South Wall

We now turn to the south wall. Since the Iliadic narrative begins at the south-east corner and proceeds north from there, if the episodes were continuous, it would end here. But we have seen that the end of the *Iliad* was probably on the west end of the north wall. If the west wall, as seems likely, had episodes from the middle of the epic, did the south wall do likewise? We have one more piece of direct evidence to take into account, a figural painting not included in Steinbüchel's tally. We will look at it closely in the next section, but for the moment it is sufficient to say that the scene it depicts is certainly not from the *Iliad*, and that it is probably pre-Iliadic. Where was it located? The total destruction of the upper part of the west wall in the eruption of Vesuvius leaves the south wall as the remaining candidate. The cork model shows no surviving plaster to the left of the main entrance, on the west side of the south wall, but our luck is better on the right side (fig. 64). There, next to the main entrance, the model shows a figural painting with a vertical crack down the middle set in the midst of a niche-style panel (number 36 on Fig. 9). So, the cork model shows that there was painted plaster surviving just to the right of the main south entrance, with a potential indication of a figural painting. This is the natural place to put a pre-Iliadic episode: before the start of the *Iliad* at the southern end of the east wall.

Moving east, there is a lost panel, then the vestiges of a panel which is probably niche-style (number 37 on Fig. 9), and finally a niche-style panel with its figural painting lost (number 38 on Fig. 9; see also fig. 10). The prevalence of niche-style panels is supported by the annotation on Gell's plan of the sanctuary, which said that there were "paintings of Dwarfs" on the east half of the south wall (fig. 1). As we have seen, the most likely place for those small details was below the red frame of the niche-style. The presence of three such panels on this part of the cork model suggests that this is where Gell's dwarfs were found. Finally, at the corner, just before the east wall, the excess space is occupied by an object which may be a torch or a cornucopia standing on its end.

Figure 64: Detail of the 1:100 scale model of Pompeii in the National Archaeological Museum, Naples: eastern half of the south wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo; author's photograph.

It may seem surprising that Steinbüchel omitted a fully-preserved figural painting, given that he took the trouble to show us a very small fragment of the Machaon painting. As noted above, it is possible that he lost one or more images in the years before the publication of his *Atlas*, or that Morelli never got around to sketching one of the paintings. But such hypotheses are unnecessary. The content of this painting is so obviously non-Homeric that it would stick out like a sore thumb in the midst of the other sketches. Its subject is quite obscure, so its relevance to the *Iliad* must not have been evident. In his commentary, Steinbüchel is heavily invested in the Trojan nature of the portico, comparing it to the fictional portico in the Temple of Juno in Carthage in the first book of the *Aeneid*, so it is quite natural that he, or Morelli, his source, might silently omit this puzzling composition, which at first glance might seem to have complicated the analogy.

The evidence for this additional composition comes from a plate in a book called *Le antichità de Pompei*, published by Luigi Rossini around 1831. While discussing the nature of the sources for the temple, we noted that Rossini's two views of the temple illustrate the genres of picturesque ruin and imaginative and hypothetical reconstruction respectively. But here we are concerned with the contents of another plate from that book, which contains miscellaneous views of decorative items from several monuments. The engraving at the top right of the page is entitled "Pittura nel tempio di Venere", and it shows a familiar tableau (fig. 65). We see a well-preserved instance of the familiar pillar-style panel with a very unfamiliar figural composition. It is perfectly clear that this scene, which seems to show a young boy being presented by one female figure to another, cannot come from the plot of the *Iliad*. But one objection to our hypothesis that this shows a pre-Iliadic scene from the south wall immediately presents itself. There is, as we have seen, evidence from the cork model for two fairly well preserved niche-style panels there, but little evidence of a well-preserved pillar-style panel such as this one. Of course, it may be that the whole panel had disintegrated in the time between Rossini seeing the portico and the state represented by the cork model. But it seems to me that there is a more plausible explanation.

If we compare Rossini's panel with Raoul-Rochette's view of the northernmost pillar on the east wall which contained the wounding of Aphrodite (fig. 5), the resemblance is very close. It is true that the pattern of plaster breakage is slightly different and that Rossini simplifies a few details, and that the female figure in the architecture on the right is a mirror-image. Of course, we cannot check the colours of Rossini's black-and-white lithograph. As before, we confront here the problem that it is hard to tell when the differences between two representations are incidental or due to differences in two panels belonging to the same overall scheme. On balance, considering how much we now know about the early state of the portico, it seems somewhat unlikely that there was another very well-preserved, elaborate pillar-style panel that all of our other sources are silent about. The alternative is to consider Rossini's lithograph as a composite. We have already seen how Mazois was

unable to resist moving the brilliantly preserved decoration of the Aphrodite-pillar onto the north wall, using it as a pars pro toto example of the portico decoration as a whole. We have also seen that the figural composition at the center of that dazzling panel was very badly preserved, with the right side effaced nearly completely. Rossini seems to have reacted to this problem as well. He, like Mazois, wanted to use the elaborate detail of the Aphrodite-panel, which was by far the best preserved of the pillar-style panels, to give the viewer a sense of the fullest complexity of the portico decoration. He could not, however, fudge the details of the badly preserved figural composition, since he was not embedding it in a larger view of a whole wall, but was recording a close-up view of the panel in detail. So he substituted a better-preserved figural composition from elsewhere in the portico. He had no investment in the Trojan theme: the only subjects he identifies in his text are the dragging of Hector and the battles of the Pygmies against cranes and he draws no inferences from that about the theme of the portico. He therefore was free to select an image that others had rejected as thematically problematic. The other possibility is that this figural painting did come from a pillar-style panel on the south wall or elsewhere, where the plaster had degraded by the time the original of the cork model was recorded.
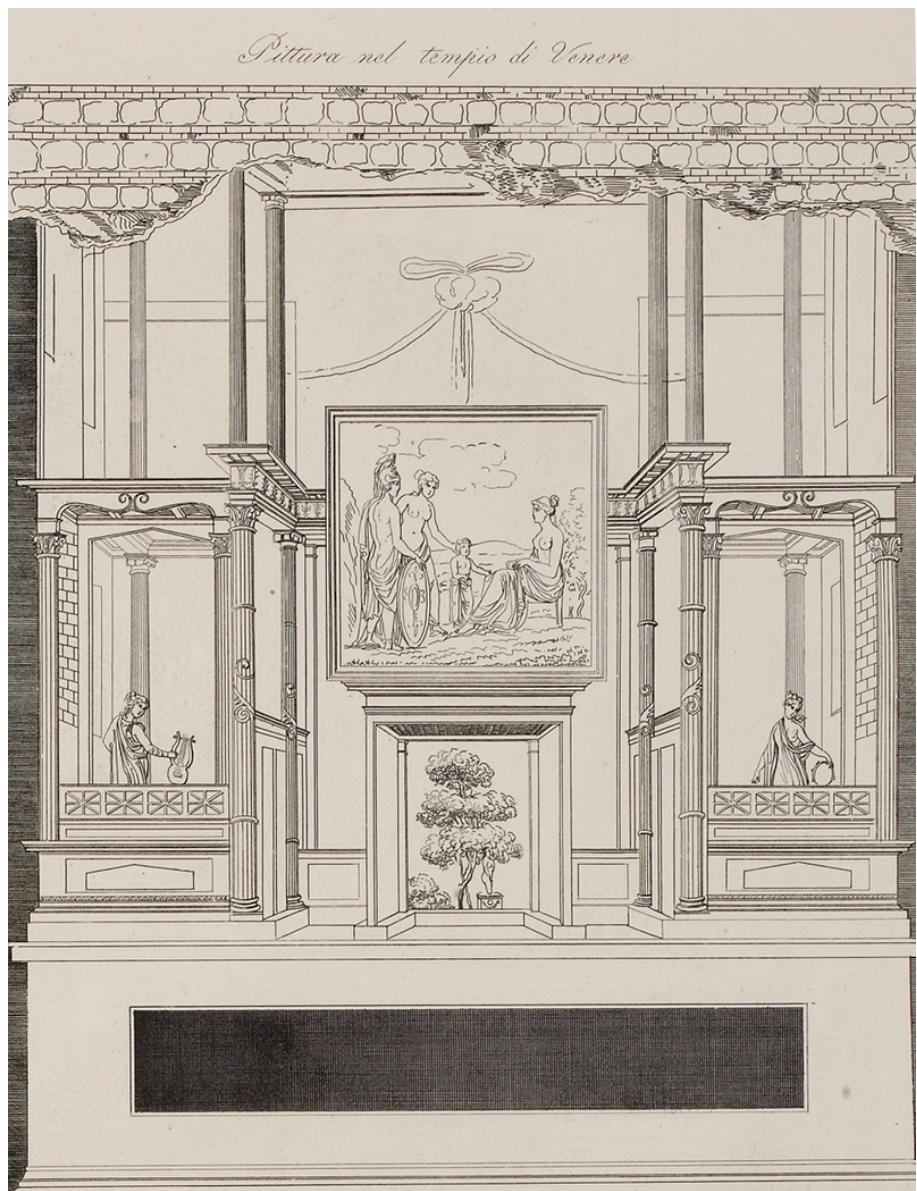
Figure 65: Detail of Plate 52 of Rossini, *Le Antichità di Pompei* (ca. 1831).

The Upbringing of Aeneas

When we examine the details of the figural composition recorded by Rossini, it does turn out to belong to the Trojan theme of the portico, but in an unexpected way (fig. 66). At the center is a young boy who stands at waist height to the other figures, so presumably of an age around four to six years old. A standing female figure urges him gently forward with a hand on the back of his head. She is nude from the waist up, so, presuming from her motherly gesture that she is not meant to represent a prostitute, she must be a divine or semi-divine figure. The gentleness of her touch establishes the closeness and mutual trust between her and the boy. The seated female figure whom the boy is being urged to approach is likewise attired. From the fact that she is seated while the others stand and from the hesitancy of the others' approach to her, we may guess that she is a higher-status divinity. The male figure on the left is heroically semi-nude, but we cannot make any inferences about his mortality from that. Our first effort must be to relate this image to the plot of the *Iliad*, but the only episodes that center upon a young boy have to do with Astyanax, who is an infant, a babe in the arms of his mother, father and nurse (*Il.* 6.400). The *Odyssey* features a boy more prominently, but Telemachus is on the verge of manhood. If we look for visual parallels for the composition, none spring to mind.

The only remaining path is to try to puzzle out what is happening in the image, which offers us a number of clues. There are very few episodes in myth which concern boys of this age, but there is one which has a scene in which one goddess is presenting a boy to a higher-status goddess in the presence of a male figure. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, after the goddess has lain with Anchises, she tells him about the son they have conceived. She stipulates that Aeneas will be taken at birth to be raised by the mountain nymphs; it would not do for the goddess of love to be encumbered by the unromantic duties of childcare. As the goddess observes, these nymphs are not fully immortal, but they do live for a very long time. With them Aeneas would not learn to live, as he must, a brief and mortal life. So Aphrodite changes her mind and decrees that, when he is five, the nymphs will bring the child to Anchises to be raised. This future prospect is, I believe, the moment represented in Rossini's lithograph.[53] The presence of Aphrodite in the scene is explained by the words of the goddess herself, who seems to change her mind immediately, adding that she herself will preside in person over the handing-over to Anchises:[54]

"αἲ μὲν ἐμὸν θρέψουσι παρὰ σφίσιν υἱὸν ἔχουσαι·

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[53] Another possibility for the subject of this painting could be the presentation on Scyros of Neoptolemus to Thetis by Achilles and Deidamia, though this would be equally unparalleled visually. The age of the boy would also imply a much longer stay on the island for Achilles than is usual, and we would not expect to find Deidamia to be semi-nude.

[54] *Hom. Hymn Aph.* 273–7.

Figure 66: Detail of fig. 65, showing the figural composition at the center of Rossini's illustration.

τὸν μὲν ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον ἕλῃ πολυήρατος ἥβη
ἄξουσίν σοι δεῦρο θεαὶ δείξουσί τε παῖδα.
σοὶ δ' ἐγώ, ὄφρα ‹κε› ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ πάντα διέλθω,
ἐς πέμπτον ἔτος αὖτις ἐλεύσομαι υἱὸν ἄγουσα."

"They [the nymphs] will keep my son among them and raise him. As soon as lovely youth comes upon him, the goddesses will bring him here to you and show you your son. And I (to go over all this in my mind) will return in the fifth year from now, bringing our son."

At first glance, these lines seem to present two distinct predictions of the future which are contradictory and chronologically disordered. In the first statement, the nymphs bring Aeneas to Anchises at a vaguely defined point in his youth; in the second, Aphrodite brings him herself when he is precisely five years old. Textual critics have attempted to resolve the perceived problem by bracketing one

or the other of these sentences as an interpolation or by reordering the lines.[55] If, however, we consider these lines not as an exercise in formal logic but as the dramatic expression of the evolution of Aphrodite's improvised thinking on the spot, then they make perfect sense from a psychological point of view.[56] The first thought of the goddess is to keep the baby Aeneas at arm's length from her as long as possible, hidden away from the world with the nymphs, due to her embarrassment about the circumstances of his conception. Then she thinks about it further and refines her plans; this is why she awkwardly interrupts her musings with the strange phrase "to go over all this in my mind" (ὄφρα ‹κε› ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ πάντα διέλθω): she is temporizing and indicating that she is re-thinking what she just said. She changes her mind about hiding Aeneas away from the world until he is a young man, for she realizes that the boy, as a mere mortal, will have to be brought up in the world of mortal men, so she changes tack and specifies that he will be handed over to his father at the age of five.[57] She also realizes that, much though she would prefer to avoid it, she will need to be present on the occasion of the five-year-old Aeneas' presentation to Anchises. The reason for this becomes evident as her speech proceeds, for the very next thing she tells Anchises is that he must pretend to his fellow Trojans that his son was born to one of the nymphs. She then concludes her speech with a warning that if he drags her name into it Zeus will strike him with a thunderbolt (281–90). Of course, the moment of greatest danger to Aphrodite's reputation will be that point five years hence when Anchises returns from Mount Ida to Troy with a previously unknown, five-year-old son. It is at this point that he will be questioned most intently about the origins of this mysterious child. Aphrodite realises that she will need to be present on that crucial occasion to reiterate her warnings about the importance of keeping her motherhood secret. That is why she revises her original thoughts regarding the handover and changes her mind to insist upon being there in person. It has nothing to do with fondness for the boy, whom she regards as an embarrassment.[58] Regardless of whether these lines were composed this way or suffered interpolation, it is very likely that they were read in antiquity just as we have them, and were interpreted accordingly. As we will now see, the ancient painter understood these lines of the *Homeric Hymn* in this way and had a deep appreciation of the ironies and tensions involved in the encounter.

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[55] For an overview of the various solutions to the alleged problem, see Faulkner 2008, 291–3.

[56] The claim of Smith 1979, 39–41 to have made exhaustive efforts to make sense of the transmitted text fails because he presumes that Aphrodite must have a single, constant idea in these lines, rather than an idea that evolves before our eyes.

[57] Since, as many critics (such as Olson 2012, 270–1 and Smith 1979, 40–1) rightly insist, the phrase "lovely youth" (πολυήρατος ἥβη) should mean early adolescence and cannot easily stretch to a five-year-old, Aphrodite has quickly changed her mind not only about her own need to be present, but also about the age of the handover.

[58] Compare Richardson 2010, 254. At least she realizes that she cannot hide him with the nymphs indefinitely, and that he will need to be raised among mortals.

In Rossini's copy of the ancient painting we see the moment Venus had or-
dained. The nymph who has been raising Aeneas for five years brings him back to
Mount Ida to present him to Aphrodite and Anchises in order for his mother to
hand him over into the care of his father. The tenderness of the nymph's gesture
and the hesitancy of Aeneas in approaching his mother are eloquent testimony to
her absence from her son's life over the previous five years. Anchises stands on the
opposite side of the painting from the goddess, which illustrates similarly her ab-
sence from the life of her erstwhile lover. His position next to the nymph alludes
to the fiction that he will be required to maintain, that the boy was the result of
a union with a mountain nymph. It is remarkable that Aphrodite, who is meet-
ing the boy Aeneas as much as Anchises is, completely ignores the child who is
being presented to her and fixes her gaze instead sternly on Anchises. Her serious
bearing and un-sensuous posture reflect the sternness of the warnings she must be
reiterating to him. As she did five years earlier, she is telling him to keep her name
unconnected with the child. She immediately goes on to emphasize that point
(281–90):

> "ἢν δέ τις εἴρηταί σε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
> ἥ τις σοὶ φίλον υἱὸν ὑπὸ ζώνῃ θέτο μήτηρ,
> τῷ δὲ σὺ μυθεῖσθαι μεμνημένος ὥς σε κελεύω·
> φασίν τοι νύμφης καλυκώπιδος ἔκγονον εἶναι
> αἳ τόδε ναιετάουσιν ὄρος καταειμένον ὕλῃ.
> εἰ δέ κεν ἐξείπῃς καὶ ἐπεύξεαι ἄφρονι θυμῷ
> ἐν φιλότητι μιγῆναι ἐϋστεφάνῳ Κυθερείῃ,
> Ζεύς σε χολωσάμενος βαλέει ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ.
> εἴρηταί τοι πάντα· σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ σῇσι νοήσας
> ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀνόμαινε, θεῶν δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν."

> "And if any mortal man should ask you what mother bore you a dear son
> beneath her girdle, remember to tell him as I command you: say he is the
> offspring of one of the blushing nymphs who inhabit this forest-covered
> mountain. But if you tell all and foolishly boast that you made love to
> richly-girdled Aphrodite, Zeus will smite you in his anger with a smok-
> ing thunderbolt. Now I have told you all. Take care: restrain yourself and
> do not name me, but respect the anger of the gods."

Of course, Anchises fails to heed this warning. He returns to Troy, boasts of having
lain with Aphrodite, and is blasted by a thunderbolt. Thereafter he is lame and is
pictured endlessly in Roman art as a cripple carried by his son. Here we see the
proud, young Anchises, and it is no coincidence that the painter shows us his bare
back, ramrod straight and undeformed. The contrast with the usual posture of An-
chises is striking, and it is tempting to speculate that, if the portico contained a few
post-Iliadic paintings to complement these pre-Iliadic ones, it must have shown
the iconic image of Aeneas carrying his crippled father out of the burning Troy.
In other words, the viewer knows that the moment of happy fiction represented
here will not last long.

Conclusions

We have seen that the most likely interpretation of the evidence is that the final scenes of the *Iliad* were represented on the west side of the north wall of the portico of the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii, including Priam before Achilles and an interesting representation of the dragging of Hector. There is also a scene from the childhood of Aeneas, which must have been elsewhere; the south wall seems the only likely candidate. As we will see in the next chapter, there is some fairly strong circumstantial, indirect evidence for another pre-Iliadic scene of Achilles in the portico, possibly also located on the east side of the south wall. What of the west half of the south wall, on the other side of the main entrance? It might have continued the episodes from the middle of the epic from the west wall, but, even if it did, it is clear that there was not enough room to narrate the events of the epic in as much detail as the east wall lavished upon the first five books and as the north wall did upon the last three books. There must have been a principle of selection at work, and the most interesting one from our perspective is the attention paid to Aeneas.

If we are correct in situating the image of Aeneas as a boy on the south wall in the panel just to the right of the entrance, then it was the very first episode in this re-telling of the story of Troy from a Roman perspective. It is tempting to imagine that the flanking image on the left side of the main entrance might have concluded the series with Aeneas leading his father and son from the ruins of Troy.[59] The images would have been linked not only by the figures of Aeneas and Anchises, but also by the presence of a boy. The other image of Aeneas is his rescue from the battlefield by Aphrodite, where her attitude to her son is reversed: from indifference to solicitude. Both Aeneas-paintings were next to entrances and at the end of a wall, so that the proto-Roman hero appears at significant junctures. The effect is to highlight a man who is a minor character for Homer, reframing the *Iliad* so that it becomes subsumed within the Roman national narrative. The question of how it happened that the portico in Pompeii reflected an agenda set in Rome is a complex one and cannot be addressed until we establish some general principles regarding the relationship of copies and models, center and periphery, which is the subject of the next chapter.

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[59] A parallel would be the Iliadic cycle in the House of the Cryptoportico, which ends with such a scene: Spinazzola 1953, 955–6. The escape of Aeneas from Troy also plays a crucial role in the *tabulae Iliacae*.

Chapter 4

Pompeii: Copies and Models

So far, we have looked at evidence which is highly fragmentary and often difficult to interpret, but the general approach has been straightforward: to build up a coherent account of the portico of the Temple of Apollo by comparing early descriptions of the walls of the portico in word and image. In this chapter, we move from that direct evidence to items of more indirect relevance to the portico of Apollo. In so doing, we will unavoidably encounter a series of ongoing methodological controversies, all of which have to do with the fundamental art-historical question of the relationship between copies and models. The first question to ask is why one of the images found in the Apollo-portico was found again and again in a variety of domestic contexts elsewhere in the city. Moormann assumes that this is an indication that the temple portico was unimportant, and was thus given mundane decoration evocative of a private home.[1] But could this be the wrong way round? Might it be that the domestic contexts were imitating the portico, as a testament to its local influence and importance? Can we go further and guess that where two domestic contexts show the same Trojan composition they were imitating a lost painting from the temple portico? The payoff for these investigations is to suggest that we may be able to identify lost paintings from the Apollo portico on the basis of several of these quotations of subsets of the cycle in other places in Pompeii.

A different but related question of copying has to do with the relationship of art in provincial Pompeii to models in metropolitan Rome. In this chapter, we will finish our reconstruction of the possible subjects of the paintings in the Pompeian portico and then conclude with an analysis of the construction of the portico, the dating of the paintings and the phases of its decoration. This will demonstrate the likelihood that the Pompeian portico reflects a fourth-style re-installation of a cycle of Trojan paintings which themselves go back to the construction of the portico, which we will date, against the current consensus, to approximately 10 BC. This means that the Pompeian cycle was originally assembled less than a decade after the publication of Virgil's *Aeneid* and less than two decades after the construction,

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[1] Moormann 2011, 82.

in the years after the Battle of Actium, of the Portico of Philippus in Rome. In the next chapter we will discuss the details of the architecture and history of that Roman portico, where we are told that one could find a cycle of paintings depicting the Trojan War. We have already seen that the iconography of all of the Iliadic paintings securely attested in the portico can be paralleled in the *tabulae Iliacae*, which were mostly found in the near neighborhood of Rome. These tablets had multiple sources of inspiration, but one source that can be proven is the iconography of another Augustan monument, the Forum of Augustus. All of this will lead us to the highly suggestive, if definitively unprovable, hypothesis that the common source of the iconography found on the tablets and the Pompeian paintings was the Portico of Philippus in Rome. If it is right to see a connection between a temple portico in Rome with a cycle of paintings of the Trojan War and a similarly furnished portico in Pompeii, we must explain the dynamics of visual emulation and quotation without falling back on outmoded notions of diffusion from the center. If the Pompeian monument quotes aspects of the Roman one, what was the meaning of that gesture in the local context?

Copies or Intertexts?

The specter that haunts the study of Roman painting is the question of its dependence on the lost history of Greek painting. Earlier generations of scholars had reduced the dynamic process of re-appropriation in Roman art to a mechanism of simple duplication of Greek originals which could only be more or less accurate, never having its own agenda. Roman copies could be used to reconstruct the outlines of lost Greek masterpieces, but nothing more than that. Scholars of Roman art are still trying to vindicate the object of their study against this prejudice and there may still be some reluctance to discuss the phenomenon of copying which has so often been used as a stick for their backs. The problem is that it is impossible to understand the particular brilliance of Roman art without appreciating the way it transformed the elements of Greek visual culture into a language whose elements could be recombined in infinite variation to articulate its own concerns.[2]

The study of Roman fresco painting in the cities buried by Vesuvius suffered particularly from this problem. For many decades, the main purpose of many scholars working on this material was to reconstruct the lost history of Greek and Hellenistic painting on wood panels from these "copies", an approach which has been called copy-criticism, or *Kopienkritik*. To put it bluntly, this methodology started from an idea of what the development of Greek painting ought to have looked like and then illustrated it by picking and choosing bits of Campanian painting. Where there were elements in these paintings that did not accord with

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[2] As demonstrated by Hölscher 2004.

this preconceived picture they could be disregarded, either, in the case of high quality works, because of the independent imagination of the copyist or, in the case of lower quality works, because of his incompetence. Of course, the scholars pursuing this approach imagined that they were doing something far more rigorous, analogous to the procedures of textual criticism. If meticulous scholarship could deduce well-founded conclusions about a lost archetype of a text, why not do the same for images? There were two problems.[3] The first is that direct visual evidence for the development of Greek panel painting is almost entirely non-existent. A couple of isolated images have survived along with textual accounts, such as that of Pliny the Elder. There is effectively no independent, direct evidence to rescue the indirect approach from complete circularity.[4] Whatever one may think of the analogous practice with respect to sculpture of postulating unattested Greek originals to explain similarities between surviving Roman pieces, at least the history of Greek sculpture is directly documented by some surviving originals.[5] This provides a standard against which potentially circular logic can be tested. No such independent framework exists for Greek painting.

The other big problem with this approach is that visual artists were often, perhaps usually, neither making exact copies nor completely autonomous artworks, but rather creating a new synthesis by drawing on a range of visual idioms to produce the effect desired by a buyer or patron.[6] This differs from the textual world, where the division of roles of the notionally exact copyist and the original writer were in principle utterly distinct. Cicero, who had his own team of slaves to copy texts exactly for him, once famously wrote a series of letters to his friend Atticus, who was in Athens, to ask him to buy some art for his villa which was "gymnasium-ish" (γυμνασιώδη), an invented neologism Cicero liked so much he used it twice (1.6.2 and 1.9.2). It has often been observed that in describing the art Cicero would like he repeatedly asks for statuary appropriate for particular locations rather than examples of particular works or artists; he speaks in terms of recreating particular visual environments.[7] This attitude seems likely to have been be typical of the requirements of the market in which art for elite Romans was made. This is not to say that there were not efforts to make exact copies of famous works of art, both as acknowledged copies and as forgeries: the number of alleged Greek masterpieces circulating in Rome defies belief. But it seems likely that the average Pompeian homeowner would not usually demand, nor would his or her artists generally claim to provide, copies in fresco or mosaic of the encaustic

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[3] On the falseness of the analogy with textual criticism, see E. Perry 2005, 97–8, 109.

[4] Bergmann 1995.

[5] On the damage the "copy myth" has done to the study of Roman sculpture, see E. Perry 2005 and Marvin 2008.

[6] See further E. Perry 2005, 50–77.

[7] See Leen 1991 and Gazda 1995, 131.

masterworks of particular Greek artists.[8] Instead, they might speak of creating a certain atmosphere or of treating certain themes. They might also, as we will see, use as a reference point a nearby public monument well-known to both parties. Of course, famous works of Greek art formed part of the great mass of common imagery that informed that discussion, but there is no particular reason to expect that any one classic work of Greek painting on wood should necessarily emerge on fresco centuries hence in a room in a city in Campania except as a very distant echo.

To put it in the terms of textual criticism, the norm is for any given work of Campanian painting to have a highly contaminated tradition. It is quite rare to have a set of very similar paintings whose common elements can be attributed to an identifiable archetype. There are exceptions, however, and we do sometimes find multiple copies of the same fundamental composition with only minor variations in a variety of domestic contexts. Frequently these are of subjects connected with the Trojan War. It is no coincidence that scholarship attempting to reconstruct Greek originals from Campanian copies, such as G. Lippold's *Antike Gemäldekopien*, has focussed especially on paintings of Trojan subjects.[9] I will argue below that the appearance of multiple versions of paintings on these particular topics has little to do with the distant influence of Greek or Hellenistic art from a different land and era; rather, it had a great deal to do with the nearby presence of a Trojan cycle in the local temple of Apollo, which perhaps constituted the most important public pictorial cycle in the city.

There persists a general feeling that there must be a special relationship between Hellenistic panel painting and Campanian fresco painting and mosaics. It would be foolish to deny that, if we discovered independent evidence for Hellenistic panel painting, we would almost certainly see its influence refracted at Pompeii in myriad ways. But as a tool for making sense of phenomenon of Campanian painting in general, *Kopienkritik* has been an utter failure. It has even been a failure in that more narrow field where it ought to have had some limited applicability: in explaining the appearance of very nearly identical copies of the same figural composition in different domestic contexts. In addition to the methodological problems noted above, there has been a fatal bias toward linking such copies to famous names from the history of Greek painting. This runs against what we know from Cicero of the way Romans procured art, and ignores the mechanism of transmission via Rome, which was much more important to the people of Pompeii than the abstract considerations of the history of Greek art. One of the surprising conclusions we will come to in this chapter and the next is that we can make a case for the widespread distribution in Pompeii of copies of the work of a particular Greek painter. This is not, however, a Zeuxis or Polygnotus, nor even lesser-known

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[8] E. Perry 2005, 90–6.

[9] Lippold 1951, 77–87, on which see Gazda 2002, 2–11, esp. 7, n. 18; see also Gazda 1995, and E. Perry 2005, 78–90.

master like Athenion of Maroneia. It is a second-rate (according to Pliny), nearly unknown painter named Theorus.[10] The Pompeians who put copies of his work on their walls did not care who he was, but cared very much about the way his work had been appropriated at Rome and integrated into the fabric of Augustan ideology, from which it was woven into an important place in Pompeii's civic ideology. The copying of Hellenistic painting in Campania was an incidental and secondary by-product of the dissemination of metropolitan models from the city of Rome, where many of those paintings came to be put on show.

In reaction to the general failure of *Kopienkritik*, many scholars have in recent years turned sharply and understandably away from the assumption that Roman painting should be viewed in any way through the lens of copying.[11] They have rightly seen that tearing Roman painting to pieces in a vain search for lost Greek masterpieces leaves us with neither as worthwhile objects of study. They have rightly insisted that these Campanian works must be viewed in their local context, as productions with their own motivations and interpretive framework. This reaction against the excesses of the past has, however, left many contemporary scholars very wary of discussing the phenomenon of copying at all. The challenge in the present chapter will be to do so without slipping back into the old habit of thinking of Roman art as secondary. As noted above, multiple versions of the same basic composition do exist at Pompeii, but current trends in scholarship give us very few tools to explore and explain that fact. A proper understanding of the phenomenon of copying, however, will not rob these paintings of their local significance, but will treat copying itself as a local phenomenon, which is an integral part of the meaning of these paintings in a particular time and place. We copy what we see around us. It turns out that the people of Pompeii, like us, decorated their walls with copies of works on display in the local museum/place of worship, though of course they had to order copies rather than browse through the poster display in the gift shop. This might seem at first a rather crude and superficial form of local reappropriation. In some cases the dynamic at Pompeii may indeed have been crude, but as we will see, in other cases we can identify very sophisticated thought at work behind the recombination and recontextualization of public art in a domestic context.[12]

These same issues crop up in a different form when we move from the question of the relationship of domestic art to public art in Pompeii to the broader question of the relationship of art in provincial Pompeii to art in metropolitan Rome. Just as the study of classical antiquity has long been focussed on texts more than objects, so has it tended to privilege the elite experience of major, imperial urban centers over the provincial and the marginal. Again, this has produced a backlash,

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[10] Plin. *NH* 35.138, 144: *primis proxim[us]*.

[11] See Gazda 1995.

[12] For a good discussion of past attempts to theorize the choice of themes in Roman domestic painting, see Thompson 1961, 36–46.

and recent initiatives in the study of those peripheral zones have rightly stressed that people outside the metropolis had their own concerns and agendas.[13] In to-day's post-colonial world, it may be hazardous to suggest that the decoration of the Apollo-portico in Pompeii may have been inspired in part by emulation of the Portico of Philippus in Rome. The danger that looms is of falling into the trap of *Quellenforschung*, where one is so intent on reconstructing a lost original that the independence and originality of the surviving adaptation are ignored. Neverthe-less, it is demonstrably the case that public buildings in Pompeii adapted elements from well-known monuments in Rome, and we need to ask why.[14] The key thing is not to forget to interpret the local monument as a coherent and meaningful space in its own right and to treat the deliberate gestures toward Rome as only one part of the language it spoke toward the people who used it.

In all of these contexts, the methodological problem is similar: how to do justice to an artwork that incorporates elements derived from elsewhere, especially from a source of higher prestige, be it Homer, the local Temple of Apollo or Rome. The answer is to speak not of copying, with its connotations of exactitude, passivity and subservience, but of quotation. The viewer was meant to identify the origin of the quotation as a clue to its meaning. Part of the visual pleasure was in tracing the source and the nature of the transformation. To adapt a different philological metaphor, we are dealing with intertextuality rather than scribal copying.[15] This viewpoint should allow us the flexibility to understand why it happened that we get multiple versions of the same pictorial composition at Pompeii while giving due credit and consideration to the differences between them and to the context in which each was reused.

We will begin by looking at the indirect, but very suggestive, evidence that in the portico of the Temple of Apollo there must have been a painting of the discov-ery of the cross-dressed Achilles on the island of Scyros. This will help to fill out our catalog of the subjects of the paintings in the portico and provide a pre-Iliadic, pre-adult scene for the Greek Achilles to complement the depiction as a young boy of the Trojan Aeneas. From a methodological point of view, it will also help to drive another nail in the coffin of *Kopienkritik* by demonstrating the falsity of one of its favorite maneuvers, which is to connect these Scyros-paintings with Pliny's description of a painting of that scene by Athenion of Maroneia. This discussion will also help to highlight the futility of explaining similarities among paintings in Pompeii by resorting to that old chestnut, the pattern-book. It is entirely plausible that the *pictor imaginarius* who executed figural paintings on wet plaster would have kept a personal sketch-book, as artists have always done. Such books may

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[13] See Scott 2003.

[14] Not only at Pompeii: see, for example, the brief survey of the dissemination of the iconography of the Forum of Augustus by Geiger 2008, 193–7.

[15] On the usefulness of this concept in Roman art, see Fullerton 1997, 437–40 and Fullerton 2003.

have some local circulation, such as from master to apprentice. The problem arises when scholars imagine that there were canonical pattern-books, for which there is no evidence at all. This approach to the evidence reduces local artists to more or less competent robots, slavishly attempting to imitate artistic forms that they scarcely understood. We can construct a better model, which fully explains the striking similarities between some compositions in Pompeii while fully allowing for the autonomy of painters and private patrons; for they creatively evoked the resonance of familiar, public compositions in order to articulate their own particular, private concerns.

Achilles on Scyros

Of all the surviving figural paintings in our reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo, the single image that best sums up the trajectory of the plot of the *Iliad* is the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon. Apparently, the people of Pompeii felt that way too, for very similar versions of this composition, or rather fragments of it, are found in three other places in the city. In at least two, and perhaps three, of those houses, the image is paired with another image from the life of Achilles, his discovery by Ulysses and Diomedes on Scyros. That is to say, in distinct and very different domestic contexts we keep finding the same two compositions together. This is a remarkable coincidence, and brings into sharp focus the more general question which is formulated by J. Trimble in an important article on these pictures:[16]

> If the formal authority of a lost Greek masterpiece did not wholly determine the appearance and significance of repeated mythological pictures at Pompeii, how are these to be explained?

My answer to Trimble's question is simple, but it has not, to my knowledge, been suggested before: one of the paired images was on display in one of the most important public buildings in the town, so we might guess that the other one was found there, too. The images appear together in multiple Pompeian houses because these houses were quoting their juxtaposition in that locally well-known monument. This is, of course, an unprovable hypothesis in absolute terms, but it is by far the most economical explanation for the coincidence.

The name of the Casa dei Dioscuri (vi.9.6) comes from the paintings of Castor and Pollux which are found on either side of the front entry hall. Proceeding into the house, we come to the atrium, and then on the far side is the tablinum. On either side of that room is our pair of damaged but very high quality paintings of Achilles.[17] The presence of the twin Dioscuri on either side of the entrance

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[16] See Trimble 2002, 225, who discusses two of the three possible contexts in which these two paintings were paired.

[17] On the paintings, see Richardson, Jr. 1955, 135–9, who suggests that the painter was a master summoned from elsewhere, possibly even Rome.

predisposes us to look for paintings that are paired on opposite walls across this axis, so the two Achilles paintings form a twin-like unit not only by their content and mirrored placement but also by their function within the overall decorative scheme of the front part of the house.[18] On the left wall of the tablinum is the bottom-right side of a version of the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon. We can see the bodies, but not the heads, of Achilles, who is drawing his sword and advancing to the left, and Athena, who restrains him from behind. This remnant of the painting corresponds so exactly to Steinbüchel's drawing from the Apollo portico that there can be no doubt that they are versions of the same composition.

Figure 67: Painting of Achilles on Scyros from the Casa dei Dioscuri.

On the opposite wall of the tablinum is the other painting of Achilles. In this image (fig. 67) we see the young hero on the island of Scyros, where he has been dis-

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[18] For further details on these paintings, see Trimble 2002.

guised as a girl and hidden away from the Trojan War by his mother.[19] Odysseus
and Diomedes have arrived and are using a trick to induce Achilles to drop his
pretence. They bring gifts for the daughters of Lycomedes, the king of Scyros, but
include some weapons. Achilles is drawn to these and, as he hesitates, Odysseus'
trumpeter blows his horn to signal an attack. Achilles seizes the weapons and his
cover is blown. These two images complement each other beautifully: they both
depict Achilles being restrained from violent action as he reaches for a weapon, but
the contexts could not be more different.[20] In the quarrel, Achilles is held back
by Athena when on the point of killing his leader and sets in motion a chain of
events that leads directly to the death of his closest friend. On Scyros, Odysseus
and Diomedes hold the cross-dressed hero back from responding to the false signal
of war from an imaginary enemy that they themselves have staged as a provocation.
Disguised and duped, Achilles is a less than intimidating presence on Scyros, but
his impulsiveness and latent violence hints of darker things to come. The question
is, did two people in Pompeii independently come up with this brilliant juxtapo-
sition of otherwise unrelated images, or did one plagiarize the other, or was the
juxtaposition already there in a public monument for them both to appreciate,
savor and quote? The last seems by far the most likely scenario.

We have seen that in the Apollo-portico there was at least one pre-Iliadic paint-
ing dealing with the childhood of one of the heroes. If we are right in putting that
picture of the young Aeneas just to the right of the entrance from via Marina in
the south wall, then it would have been natural to find the painting of Achilles on
Scyros in one of the panels on the south wall just beyond that (numbers approx.
37–38 on Fig. 9).[21] If so, the pointed juxtaposition of this image with the quarrel
picture will have been present there too, as the two paintings would have faced
each other across the south-east corner.[22] This is precisely the sort of contrast that
we have already seen employed there: for example, the east wall having Athena at
one end restraining a warrior and encouraging another to violence at the oppo-
site end. The Scyros image would fit well on the same wall with the handing of
Aeneas to Anchises. Both paintings depict a feminine milieu that contrasts with
the military scenes on the other walls, and both deal with a young hero crossing a
threshold away from the world of women toward manhood: Aeneas moves from
the care of his surrogate mother to that of his father, while Achilles moves from
the women's quarters on unwarlike Scyros to the company of his fellow soldiers.

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[19] On the myth, see Heslin 2005.

[20] The brilliance of the juxtaposition has been discussed by Beard and Henderson 2001, 40 and
Trimble 2002, 238–41.

[21] Mau 1904, 81–2 suggests that the gaps between the pillars in the east wall would have been
seen as the main entrance to the sanctuary, but the south entrance must also have been a privileged
view-point.

[22] On play across corners in Pompeian painting, see Bergmann 2007, 90–1.

It seems that the owners of the House of the Dioscuri wanted unmistakably to evoke the portico of the Temple of Apollo for visitors to their tablinum. Perhaps they had some special connection with the sanctuary that they meant to highlight. Or it may simply be that they wished to borrow some of the seriousness and cultural heft of a major public monument. Trimble considered the paintings as a backdrop for the morning *salutatio* at which a patron met his clients, and if that is right, the evocation of a public space right next to the Forum might have seemed appropriate. The tablinum marked the end-point and culmination of the public area in a Roman house; behind it was private.[23] In the House of the Dioscuri, these public areas were decorated in a consistent manner. First the demigods Castor and Pollux, and then the atrium area, which was mainly decorated with very dignified images of individual gods depicted, like the Dioscuri, against a red background: Jupiter, Saturn, Apollo, Bacchus and so on.[24] The Achilles-pictures in the tablinum might seem to mark a change of tone by introducing an element of mythical narrative, but if we think of them as an evocation of the Temple of Apollo, then they fit very well with the dignified, sacral feel of the front part of the house. In this context, the apparently undignified costume of Achilles on Scyros and his near miss with regicide at Troy do not lower the tone. Together they link the public part of this grand and spacious house, whose owner was apparently a person of consequence, with one of the most important public spaces in the town.

Moving now to the second Pompeian residence where this same pairing of pictures was found, we will be able to give an even clearer idea of why the choice was made to evoke the Temple of Apollo in a person's own home. This particular dwelling has come to be called the House of Apollo (vi.7.23), and that name is no coincidence. Throughout the house the decor emphasizes the importance of that god, who must have had a special meaning for the people who lived there. We are interested in a special room located well away from the main part of the house. At the most distant, rear corner of the garden, is found an isolated, elegant room. Its most likely purpose was to serve as a refuge or retreat from the hustle and bustle of the main house.[25] Even the emperor Augustus had an isolated room where he could go to be alone and work, his "Syracuse".[26] The visitor to this room would step down into the sunken garden, cross it and then step up into the room, whose painted decoration was a celebration of Apollo.[27]

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[23] On the tablinum as a focal point of the morning reception, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 45.

[24] Richardson, Jr. 1955, 12–15.

[25] Thus Sampaolo in Baldassarre et al. 1990–9, vol. 4, 471, who suggests on the basis of other artifacts that the owner was an intellectual.

[26] See Gowers 2010.

[27] For a plan with the locations of the various pictorial elements, see Helbig 1868, no. 232 and more fully Caso 1989, 112, fig. 1, though both scholars go badly wrong in playing down the centrality of Apollo. For many more pictures, see Baldassarre et al. 1990–9, vol. 4, 470–524, figs. 55–90.

Opposite the entrance is a very elaborate, theatrical pseudo-architectural vista of the *scaenae frons* type with Apollo enthroned in glory at the center, flanked by two other deities.[28] The dramatic setting of this episode, if indeed it has one, has been identified as a beauty contest between Hesperus and Venus, with Apollo in his role as the Sun acting as judge. This is a very uncertain identification, and indeed it is not clear that this is a real myth at all; but we can be sure that Apollo enthroned is at the center, dominating the room.[29] The architectural framework continues on the other walls, which depict elements from the story of Marsyas, who challenged Apollo to a musical contest and was defeated and punished. The god appears on both the north and south walls, as does his victim, along with minor characters, such as Olympus, who was either Marsyas' father or student, and Athena, who invented the pipes he played.[30] Whether or not we should interpret the west wall as a beauty contest with Apollo as judge or simply as the god sitting in splendor flanked by two other divinities, it is clear that the theme is the glory of Apollo. Fragments of what may be the second-century BC pediment of the Temple of Apollo have been found and they also feature the story of Marsyas.[31] These were probably damaged in the earthquake of AD 62, and it is not improbable that the updated replacements for the temple sculptures featured the same theme. The room advertized itself, therefore, as a kind of sanctuary for the harassed homeowner which was dedicated to the god.

A temple often has a portico, and this small Apolline sanctuary has a miniature version. The roof of the room was continued out in front of the structure where three columns supported it, forming a porch or a very small portico. This is where our other pair of Achilles-pictures was situated, but in the medium of mosaic rather than painted plaster. On the outside wall to the left of the entrance to the room may still be seen *in situ* a simplified version of the discovery of Achilles on Scyros.[32] The only figures shown are Achilles, Odysseus and on the left Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes and lover of Achilles, but the positions of the first two are very closely identical to the surviving portion of the painting in the tablinum of the House of the Dioscuri. The mosaic also makes a point of showing us the device on the shield that Achilles is trying to pick up, which shows himself being taught to play the lyre by his tutor, the centaur Chiron. This detail is more muted in the tablinum fresco, but it is clearly present; and in both cases the point of Odysseus' spear emphasizes it. On the other side of the entrance to the room, still within the

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[28] See *LIMC* s.v. "Apollon/Apollo" 420 and Ling 1991, 127 and 130, fig. 132.

[29] See Moormann 1983, 87–90. In this and some of the other alleged depictions of the star-contest scene at Pompeii, the judge at the center has been misidentified as Bacchus; for a refutation of that and for a sceptical view of the entire mythical identification, see Hijmans 1995.

[30] See *LIMC* s.v. "Apollon/Apollo" 420 and Moormann 1983, 84–91.

[31] See De Caro 2007, 76–7 with Fig. 6.3, and for more pictures but without this interpretation, Menotti de Lucia 1990.

[32] Baldassarre et al. 1990–9, vol. 4, 470–524, fig. 64.

miniature portico, was a simplified version of the quarrel-scene in mosaic which is now in the Naples museum.[33] Again, only three figures are shown: Agamemnon, Achilles, and Athena restraining him. The posture of these figures leaves no doubt that we have a version of the painting recorded by Steinbüchel. The fact that the pictures in the tablinum and in the garden portico are in different media, painting and mosaic respectively, refutes the simplistic explanation that the duplication of the paired images was merely the result of an artist repeating himself in a different property.

The garden portico is remarkable for its wit. The mosaic images clearly signal to anyone approaching that this is a smaller scale model of the public Sanctuary of Apollo. The outer wall of the garden room on the south side apparently was painted with Nilotic scenes, which may have been part of the allusion to the Temple of Apollo. It seems likely that this was meant in a lightly humorous vein rather than as a serious point of religion. If this room was a refuge for someone from the hectic activity in the house, the nature of the images gave notice that this was a space consecrated and set apart. Let all who approach think twice before bursting in with mundane domestic trivialities. If this analysis is correct, it is an interesting irony that the message conveyed by the pictures in this context is precisely the opposite of the one conveyed in the House of the Dioscuri. There, the Apollo portico was solemnly invoked in the tablinum as an example of a dignified, public space. Here, its sacred character is jestingly invoked as an example of consecrated space set apart for private, higher purposes. There is no contradiction, for the portico of the real sanctuary of Apollo was a liminal space between the more public space of the Forum next door and the privacy of the temple cella. It was public, but also belonged to the god. The point to take from this is that the act of quoting imagery from local monuments does not imply a simplistic act of mimicry.

In addition to the House of the Dioscuri and the House of Apollo, there is yet other house, not discussed by Trimble, which may have also juxtaposed variations on these two compositions in the same room. In the Casa della Caccia Antica (vii.4.48), there is a room off the atrium with fictional architecture of the *scaenae frons* type around its three sides. Standing in front of the architecture, as if on stage, there were once figures which are now badly degraded. There are enough early illustrations of the west wall, including one by Raoul-Rochette, for us to be sure that the figures here were adapted from the familiar typology of Achilles on Scyros. Here we are clearly dealing with a free adaptation of the theme, for the figures have broken out of the frame of the figural painting and have emerged into the world of fictive architecture. The positions and attitudes of the figures are also only loosely related to the original; but there is enough to identify the scene from which they have escaped.[34] The architecture behind them, as reported by Raoul-

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[33] Baldassarre et al. 1990–9, vol. 4, 470–524, fig. 70 and Trimble 2002, fig. 10.9 with n. 62. There was also a mosaic of the three Graces in the same location.

[34] See Allison and Sear 2002, 32–5, 70–2, with figs. 145–55.

Rochette, has some elements in common with the wall painting from the Temple of Apollo, though it is busier and lacks the focus on the central figural painting.

On the other two walls, the figures in front of the architecture are just as badly degraded, but we have no early illustrations to help identify them. In his catalog of the wall paintings of Pompeii, Schefold says that in the architecture on the north wall there was a figure who might be Venus and that "underneath the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon ought to have been visible".[35] The tentative nature of the assertion and the fact that he gives no reference to a source for the identification have led P. M. Allison to suppose that Schefold made an unsupported "presupposition" on the basis of the parallels from the Houses of Apollo and the Dioscuri.[36] This seems unfair to the normally scrupulous Schefold. Why then did he assign the quarrel-scene specifically to the north wall and not the south? There must have been traces on the north wall on which he thought he could base an identification. It is true that he was probably influenced strongly by the parallels from the other buildings, and that those parallels would have encouraged him to look for traces that could have matched a figure from the quarrel-scene. He must, however, have seen something that he thought was similar to Athena's gesture of restraint or Achilles drawing his sword across his body.

Allison astutely notes that there seems to be a reference to our room in a passing comment made by Schulz in 1841, though he mistakenly assigned it to the Casa della parete nera. He says that on the wall to the right (i.e. north) of the one showing Achilles on Scyros in the midst of an architectural setting, there were three figures in the foreground. In the middle was Apollo; on one side was a warrior with a spear in his hand and a helmet on his head; on the other was Pallas playing the flute.[37] If we allow for some misidentifications, this could easily have been Achilles in the center, Agamemnon holding his sceptre on one side, and Athena restraining him on the other, though this means rejecting the presence of a flute. Schulz was making an off-hand reference to the scene in the midst of an account of another building, so it was probably done from memory and we should not expect exactitude. Indeed, he attributes the room to the wrong house. The irony, however, is that the building which Schulz is concerned with in this article is the garden room in the House of Apollo with the paired mosaics on the outside. So he might have been unduly influenced by that context. On the other hand, he was discussing the Marsyas story amid a similar setting of *scaenae frons* architecture from the interior of that room rather than the mosaics on the exterior, so the identification of Apollo at the center and Athena as playing the flute (with her subsequent disgust at the way it disfigured her cheeks) might just as easily have been an effort to force an alien Marsyas story upon figures who actually represented

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[35] Schefold 1957, 181: "Darunter soll Streit von Achill und Agamemnon sichtbar gewesen sein".

[36] Allison and Sear 2002, 35, 71.

[37] Schulz 1841, 106: "… in mezzo l'Apollo e da un lato un guerriero colla lancia nella mano e l'elmo sulla testa, dall'altra a Pallade e suona le tibie".

the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon.

It is clear that there is at least as much reason to suspect Schulz of wrongly presupposing the Marsyas theme for these figures as there is to suspect Schefold of making an unsupported inference and perhaps the presence of the soldier should be decisive in Schefold's favor: it is very hard to see what the warrior could have been doing amid the story of Marsyas. Once Schulz decided that this room was to be interpreted in the light of the Marsyas-cycle from the House of Apollo, the presence of Athena had to be explained as her playing/inventing the double flute, as indeed she does there; this was not necessarily an unambiguous feature of the painting. The heroically nude Achilles could easily have been mistaken for Apollo. On balance, we should probably give Schefold the benefit of the doubt and allow that he saw enough to confirm his hunch.[38] His identification of the scene can be reconciled with the documented traces of the figures, though the matter is very uncertain.[39] The rightmost figure, located near the center of the wall, standing with a shield and spear or sceptre, could be Agamemnon. Achilles would then be in the center, turning to confront him, with Athena at the far left, rushing to intervene. This would mean that the order of the figures was reversed with respect to the painting in the portico and some details changed, but that is just the sort of freedom we should expect on the basis of the loose adaptation of the figures from the Scyros-scene.

In conclusion, there are two or possibly three separate rooms in the town where the same two compositions are paired. Coincidence on this scale is impossible. The only sensible explanation is that in the fourth – public – place where the quarrel-scene appeared, it was also paired with the Scyros-scene. This explanation of the phenomenon of multiple copies of images in domestic contexts in Pompeii, that it largely derives from quotation of local monuments, may not be subject to iron-clad proof, as there is no direct evidence for the Scyros-painting in the portico of Apollo, but I think it is as near to certain as circumstantial evidence could make it. This approach is antithetical to the theory that such repetition in Pompeii is the result of a desire to copy at a distance the classics of Greek panel painting. Again, that is not to deny the probability that those great works exerted a distant influence on the visual idioms of Campanian wall painting, but where we have evidence of very close copying of an image, the obvious place to look is not Greece, but the local civic center. Similarly, the place to look for models for public art in Pompeii is not Greece, but the public monuments of Rome. Of course, many Roman monuments housed Greek masterpieces, but if those works were topical at Pompeii, it was largely because of their Roman context.

It is particularly instructive that we have been able to make this point via the picture of Achilles on Scyros, for this has long been one of the main examples

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[38] Moormann 1983, 111 reckons it "molto probabile".
[39] See the sketch of Allison and Sear 2002, fig. 150.

put forward to demonstrate the principles of *Kopienkritik*. All of the elements are there: a large number of copies of the scene appear in various places in Pompeii, all displaying a wide range of iconography; but several of these agree very closely.[40] The common features of these four, from the House of the Dioscuri, the House of Apollo, the Casa della Caccia Antica and the Domus Uboni (which we will discuss below), are usually taken to represent the uncorrupted branch of the transmission of the Greek original. The traditional argument is sometimes taken further to claim that because one of those three, the Dioscuri version, is of particularly high quality, it might conveniently stand in for that original. Finally, we have confirmation from Pliny the Elder that a Greek master of the fourth century BC did paint this scene: Athenion of Maroneia.[41] This line of argument has been so firmly established that even skeptics have accepted it. For example, in the standard work on Roman painting in English, R. Ling eloquently describes the futility of attempting to work back to Greek originals from Roman adaptations; but on the same page he happily accepts that the Scyros picture derives from Athenion.[42]

Scholars who have rightly rejected the connection to Pliny's vague account of Athenion's painting have been left with no alternative but to leave the origin of the repeated images unexplained.[43] Trimble set out to account for the even more striking coincidence of the double pair of Achilles-pictures, but the answer she gives is telling in its vagueness:[44]

> Arguably, these two images responded to a model of *contemporary* popularity and interest and were made precisely because of that contemporary significance. […]
>
> Arguably, then, this particular pairing of scenes from the life of Achilles had contemporary popularity and appeal; the two scenes could then be made to interact in different ways.

The identity of the contemporary model has long been right at hand, but no effort has been made to look for it. An earlier generation of art historians went to Greece instead of looking locally; the present generation seems to have reacted by eliding the issue entirely, dismissing it as the working of an eerily disembodied and passive notion of popularity. This is not so much a new model for addressing the question of copying as a new way of avoiding it. Things do not become popular spontaneously; people do not simultaneously and independently get the idea of

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[40] Trimble 2002, 246, n. 58. For examples of very different compositional schemes for this scene, see the examples from the House of the Vettii and the Casa dei Postumii: Lorenz 2008, 214, fig. 95 and 373, fig. 186b.

[41] *NH* 35.139. Sometimes the original was attributed to Theon of Samos, on the basis of a very dubious interpretation of a passage in Aelian (*Varia Historia*, 2.44).

[42] Ling 1991, 134.

[43] For a convincing presentation of the skeptical position with respect to Greek models which uses this very set of images, see Beard and Henderson 2001, 27–9.

[44] Trimble 2002, 247; emphasis original.

putting the exact same thing on their walls without having been inspired by some common source. I hope it is clear that I am making this point not to criticize Trimble's excellent article, but rather to highlight an avoidance of the issue of copying is symptomatic of even the best contemporary work on Roman art.

The failure of the methods of *Kopienkritik* led to a reaction which has rightly emphasized the qualities of Roman art in and of itself and the importance of understanding it in its local context. But this backlash in some ways has reacted so strongly to the tendency to disparage Roman art as inferior copies that the phenomenon of copying has been become a taboo subject. But this leaves scholarship unable to address one of the most important features of Roman art in its local context: its allusivity. The creative copying and re-appropriation of earlier, especially Greek, forms was the essential modality of all forms of Roman culture. Out of that reuse was created a distinctive and vibrantly original synthesis. Athenion's painting may be, many generations back, one of the ancestors of the Scyros image. But the immediate place to look for the meaning of the intertext is in Pompeii.

The House of the Tragic Poet

We may turn now to another domestic context in which the painting of the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles was reproduced, one of the most famous rooms in Pompeii, the atrium of the House of the Tragic Poet (vi.8.5). Several of the six figural paintings that decorated this room were removed to the Naples museum, including the iconic image of the taking of Briseis from Achilles (fig. 68), while the others have been lost and are mainly documented in the tempera reproductions of Francesco Morelli, whose work we have already encountered.[45] This room also demonstrates the effects of the backlash against studying the models on which Pompeian domestic painting is dependent, though the models in this case are textual rather than visual.[46] In the years after its discovery, this house was often called the "Homeric House" and the atrium in particular was lazily identified as having a "Homeric" theme. Bergmann rightly stresses the inadequacy of this description, noting, for example, that one of the paintings shows us the marriage of Amphitrite to Poseidon, which is not a fact ever alluded to by Homer.[47] Nevertheless, two of the paintings are extremely close to the text of the *Iliad* and four are on a Trojan theme, so Homer will be central to our account.

The six paintings in the atrium divide naturally into three thematically linked pairs, but they are arranged around the room in such a way as to disguise this

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[45] See Bergmann 1994, 239, fig. 23 and for the original form of the two paintings, Baldassarre et al. 1995, 118–19, figs. 61 and 62.

[46] For an example of this backlash against the idea of ancient art reacting to canonical texts, see Small 2003, especially p. 97, where this move is linked to the discrediting of the methodology of *Kopienkritik*.

[47] Bergmann 1994, 237.

Figure 68: The Taking of Briseis from the House of the Tragic Poet.

fact; in each case the two members of the pair lie on different walls and face each other across asymmetrical diagonal axes. We start with the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon, which forms half of the Iliadic pair. Very little of it survived, and that little is now only documented indirectly. Nevertheless, Morelli's painting shows enough of the feet, legs and clothing of several of the characters to be sure of an exact match with Steinbüchel's engraving of the scene, and thus to be sure that it is fundamentally the same composition.[48] The other clearly Iliadic picture is the removal of Briseis from the tent of Achilles by the heralds of Agamemnon. This scene follows immediately upon the quarrel and the break-up of the Greek assembly. Just as in the *Iliad*, Achilles is seated and does not rise to greet the heralds sent by Agamemnon; he commands Patroclus to lead Briseis away (*Il.* 1.327–48).

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[48] See Bergmann 1994, 241, fig. 27.

It is worth pausing to notice Bergmann's account of this narrative in her excellent account of the paintings in their original context:[49]

> In the *Iliad*, the violent encounter between Achilles and Agamemnon was the direct aftermath of the taking of Briseis, and the two scenes were combined in Aeschylus' Achilles trilogy, the *Nereides*.

It is not pedantry to insist that the quarrel arose not from the taking of Briseis but from the threat thereof, which was only carried out after the assembly; this point directly affects the order in which we read these two images. I do not mean to be unfair to Bergmann, who is perhaps speaking loosely here, but I think that very looseness along with her hurry to cite Aeschylus alongside Homer is indicative of an unwillingness to confront the importance of Homer here, in an understandable reaction against readings of the room as entirely Homeric. The key to interpreting the atrium will lie in doing justice to the Homeric specificity of these two images, while resisting the urge to reduce the room to a simplistic illustration of the canonical text.

Identifying the subjects of the other four paintings in the room has been more controversial; for the sake of brevity, I will simply accept the judgement of Bergmann, who reports current scholarly consensus, so far as it exists, and who provides references to earlier scholarship.[50] It was a desire to assimilate the other paintings in the room to a narrative of the first book of the *Iliad* that led to the identification of a woman being escorted onto a ship as the departure of Chryseis, but the consensus is now that it shows the departure of Helen with Paris from Sparta.[51] It is paired thematically with another fragment of a painting recorded by Morelli, which showed a nude Aphrodite revealing her charms. This image is of uncertain identification, but it seems most likely to have been the judgement of Paris.[52] Bergmann convincingly points out the parallel with the previous pair of images: a contest leads to the abduction of a woman as a prize.[53] Indeed, Achilles himself makes precisely this point in the *Iliad* when he compares the wrong done to him by Agamemnon with the wrong done to Menelaus by Paris (*Il.* 9.337–43). Just as Agamemnon asserts his authority by commanding that Briseis be taken away, so the victorious Aphrodite asserts her authority in matters of the heart by commanding that Helen be taken away from her rightful man.

The final pair of images seems at first glance to be quite different; neither has an obvious connection to the Trojan War. They do, however, show a clear pairing with each other, as they probably show the brothers Zeus and Poseidon

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[49] Bergmann 1994, 246.

[50] See Bergmann 1994, 232–46, who, however, has a different take on the juxtapositions in the room.

[51] Thompson 1960, 68, n 2 and Bergmann 1994, 232, n. 25 with 235, fig. 17.

[52] See Bergmann 1994, 237 and 240, figs. 24 and 25.

[53] Bergmann 1994, 245; for a different view of the parallel, see Beard 2009, 147.

with their respective wives. The wedding of Zeus and Hera is preserved largely intact in the Naples museum; the subject can be identified by comparison with other depictions of the sacred marriage.[54] The final painting is again a fragment recorded by Morelli, which shows a marine procession in which Poseidon carries off his bride Amphitrite. Even though the top half of the painting was lost, the subject can securely be identified by means of a closely identical parallel from nearby Stabiae.[55] This pair of divine images seems at first quite different from the other two pairs, which, as Bergmann points out, are linked by the theme of abduction. In general terms, it is clear that, as K. Lorenz puts it, the pictures in the atrium "thematize the union of man and wife".[56] It is precisely the contrast between the stability of the divine marriages and the instability of the mortal ones that permits us to see our way toward a more specific reading of the room.

The atrium presents a puzzle to the viewer, a puzzle which the vistor must solve by drawing equally on his or her knowledge of visual and textual sources. First, the images must be identified and sorted into pairs, which is not very easy and is made particularly difficult by the carefully random placement of the paintings on the three walls of the atrium. Then the theme of a man taking another man's woman must be identified. Finally, the marriages of Zeus and Poseidon must be integrated into the theme. The last step is perhaps the hardest, for it depends on identifying the one factor that unites all three pairs, but which is never represented explicitly. There is a story that these two brother gods were not always happily married, but that there was a time when they came close to contesting violently over a female, and if they had pressed their pursuit, the result would have been every bit as devastating to the hegemony of the Olympians as the Trojan War proved to be for both sides. The story is told by Pindar (*Isth.* 8.26–40):

ταῦτα καὶ μακάρων ἐμέμναντ᾽ ἀγοραί,
Ζεὺς ὅτ᾽ ἀμφὶ Θέτιος ἀγλαός τ᾽ ἔρισαν Ποσειδᾶν γάμῳ,
ἄλοχον εὐειδέ᾽ ἐθέλων ἑκάτερος
ἑὰν ἔμμεν· ἔρως γὰρ ἔχεν.
ἀλλ᾽ οὔ σφιν ἄμβροτοι τέλεσαν εὐνὰν θεῶν πραπῖδες,
ἐπεὶ θεσφάτων ἐπάκουσαν· εἶπε δ᾽
εὔβουλος ἐν μέσοισι Θέμις,
οὕνεκεν πεπρωμένον ἦν φέρτερον γόνον ἄνακτα πατρὸς τεκεῖν
ποντίαν θεόν, ὃς κεραυνοῦ τε κρέσσον ἄλλο βέλος
διώξει χερὶ τριόδοντός τ᾽ ἀμαιμακέτου, Δί τε μισγομέναν
    ἢ Διὸς παρ᾽ ἀδελφεοῖσιν.— "ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν
    παύσατε· βροτέων δὲ λεχέων τυχοῖσα
υἱὸν εἰσιδέτω θανόντ᾽ ἐν πολέμῳ,

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[54] Bergmann 1994, 232, n. 23 with 234, fig. 14; see also Cook 1914–40, vol. 3.2, 1032–41, who thinks the scene is on Mt. Ida in the Troad, which would provide another link with the judgement of Paris.

[55] Bergmann 1994, 240, fig. 26); for later parallels see *LIMC* s.v. "Amphitrite" 72, 73.

[56] Lorenz 2008, 356.

χεῖρας Ἄρεΐ ⟨τ'⟩ ἐναλίγκιον στεροπαῖσί τ' ἀκμὰν ποδῶν.
τὸ μὲν ἐμόν Πηλέϊ γάμου θεόμορον
ὀπάσσαι γέρας Αἰακίδᾳ,
ὅντ' εὐσεβέστατον φάτις Ἰωλκοῦ τράφειν πεδίον."

All this was remembered even by the assembly of the blessed gods, when Zeus and splendid Poseidon contended for marriage with Thetis, each of them wanting her to be his lovely bride; for desire possessed them. But the immortal minds of the gods did not accomplish that marriage for them, when they heard the divine prophecies. Wise Themis spoke in their midst and said that it was fated that the sea-goddess should bear a princely son, stronger than his father, who would wield another weapon in his hand more powerful than the thunderbolt or the irresistible trident, if she lay with Zeus or one of his brothers. "No, cease from this. Let her accept a mortal's bed, and see her son die in battle, a son who is like Ares in the strength of his hands and like lightning in the swift prime of his feet. My counsel is to bestow this god-granted honor of marriage on Peleus son of Aeacus, who is said to be the most pious man living on the plain of Iolcus."

Thetis is the missing link between the three pairs. Unlike the mortals in the atrium, Zeus and Poseidon had the foresight (with the help of a prophecy) to understand the consequences of continuing to vie with each other for a female. The stability of the unions of Zeus and Hera and Poseidon and Amphitrite do not just contrast with the instability of the sublunary unions, they are the ultimate cause of that instability, as the act of divine self-restraint led directly to the foolish mortal men fighting over Helen and Briseis.

In order to ensure that no son of Thetis would threaten him, Zeus forced her to marry a mortal. It was on the occasion of her wedding to Peleus that the un-invited goddess of discord threw in the apple reading "to the fairest" which occasioned the beauty contest that was settled by the judgement of Paris, who then took Helen as his reward, as narrated in the epic *Cypria*.[57] The removal of Helen led, after more than ten years and many tragedies, to the removal of Briseis. The very next thing Achilles will do after that final scene in the atrium is to call upon his mother Thetis for help, thus bringing the story full circle. The paintings on the three walls of the atrium circle around the subject of Thetis; perhaps the impluvium at the center of the room is meant to be a hint at the watery goddess who is its unspoken theme. It is clear that the Homeric narrative is important to this ensemble, but only forms one third of the total. The *Iliad* is reduced to one of its elements, a squabble over a woman, which was then embedded within a supra-Homeric and indeed somewhat anti-Homeric framework.

Homer knew the story that Thetis was forced to marry unwillingly, for she complains about this to Hephaestus:[58]

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[57] As attested by the summary of Proclus.
[58] *Il.* 18.429–34. On this passage, see Slatkin 1991, 55–6, 70–77, 96–8.

> " Ἥφαιστ᾽, ἦ ἄρα δή τις, ὅσαι θεαί εἰσ᾽ ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ,
> τοσσάδ᾽ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ᾗσιν ἀνέσχετο κήδεα λυγρὰ
> ὅσσ᾽ ἐμοὶ ἐκ πασέων Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄλγε᾽ ἔδωκεν;
> ἐκ μέν μ᾽ ἀλλάων ἁλιάων ἀνδρὶ δάμασσεν,
> Αἰακίδῃ Πηλῆϊ, καὶ ἔτλην ἀνέρος εὐνὴν
> πολλὰ μάλ᾽ οὐκ ἐθέλουσα."

> "Hephaestus, is there now any goddess, of all those that are in Olympus,
> who has endured as many grievous woes in her heart as are the sorrows that
> Zeus, son of Cronos, has given me beyond all others? Of all the daughters
> of the sea he subdued me alone to a mortal, to Peleus, son of Aeacus, and I
> endured the bed of a mortal man though very much against my will."

Homer, however, never explicitly mentions the quarrel over Thetis. Instead, his
Hera claims that it was she who gave the goddess to Peleus (*Il.* 24.59–63), which
sits somewhat uneasily with Thetis' own assigning of blame to Zeus.[59] Both Hesiod
and the *Cypria* apparently had a version in which Zeus punished Thetis because she
repelled his advances out of loyalty to Hera.[60] It remains for the third-century BC
epic poet Apollonius of Rhodes to reconcile the various archaic epic traditions with
Pindar's version of the story: his Hera claims that Thetis rejected Zeus out of loyalty
to Hera, but that he kept pursuing her until he heard the prophecy of Themis; at
that point Hera rewarded Thetis by marrying her to Peleus. Apollonius achieves
this uneasy reconciliation of divergent narratives by taking his cue from Homer,
cleverly putting this version in the mouth of Hera herself, who as the victim of her
husband's philandering may well be somewhat deceived as to the true course of
events. We are not obliged to believe that Thetis, whom she is addressing here, was
quite as steadfast a friend as Hera believes or that she shares the view that marrying
a mortal was a lucky outcome for her.

The irony is that by recognizing the Homeric antecedents of the two Iliadic
paintings we are enabled to liberate the room as a whole from an excessive de-
pendence on Homer. Understanding the riddle of the atrium depends not only
on knowing the *Iliad*, but also the events narrated by the *Cypria* and the tradi-
tion of the quarrel between Zeus and Poseidon over the hand of Thetis. That story
is not known to us before Pindar and was perhaps even more familiar from the
Aeschylean Prometheus-trilogy, where the plot turns upon this prophecy of Thetis'
destiny to produce a son more powerful than his father. The view of cosmic his-
tory and the relationship between gods and mortals that the atrium articulates is a
bitter one. The gods secure their own eternal concord and hegemony by ejecting
the potentially destabilizing force which is Thetis from their midst, compelling
her to marry a mortal. Thetis' presence in the mortal world leads immediately

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[59] Edwards 1991, 196 points out that technically there may be no contradiction here, if we imag-
ine that Hera was acting at Zeus' behest. But it seems likely that we are meant to notice the very
different views of the matter that Thetis and Hera have arrived at.

[60] As reported by Philodemus: Hesiod, F210 Merklebach-West.

to havoc: the Judgement of Paris and the birth of Achilles. This anti-theodicy is not very Homeric is spirit, for Homer's Zeus is generally more benign toward humankind; it is more akin to the cruel Zeus of the world of the Prometheus-trilogy. The argument made by the atrium-cycle demands a great deal from the viewer, and the House of the Tragic Poet, despite its small size, is clearly one of the most sophisticated domestic spaces in the city.

Before deploying a fairly deep knowledge of myth in order to solve the riddle of the atrium, the viewer would first have to decode the visual clues and sort them on that basis into pairs. The next step is to suggest the possibility that the viewer would have recognized the pairing of the quarrel-painting with the Briseis-painting because they were juxtaposed next to each other in the portico of the Temple of Apollo. This cannot be proven, and the evidence is weaker here than for the Scyros-painting, where the pairing was found in two different houses in two different media. Simply because one painting in a room was a version of a painting from the temple, that is no reason to assume the others were too, even if they are on Trojan subjects. Nevertheless, the pairing of these two images is so fundamental to the dynamic of the ensemble, and the events depicted are so intimately connected, that it is worth considering the hypothesis.

We do not know what painting came after the quarrel on the east wall of the Apollo-portico, for it does not seem to have survived the excavation. If a version of the Briseis-painting did come right afterward, it would fit well in the sequence. As noted above, the details of Homer's text are scrupulously observed, just as in the other portico images. We saw how the dynamic of interchanging the sitting and standing figures bound together the Calchas-picture and the quarrel-picture, with the languid Achilles listening to the standing Calchas in the first image and then moving to stand and leap forward to attack the seated Agamemnon in the second. The seating arrangements reflect status, but they do more work than that; if this is the next scene, the posture of Achilles is an eloquent sequel. He is seated again, once more the senior member of the grouping, but is not at ease, relaxed and confident as when listening to Calchas. Instead, his body is angled to the left while his head is twisted awkwardly to the right as he looks over his shoulder at the departing Briseis. His blank and uncomprehending expression is the prelude to the tears we know he will burst into in the very next line of the *Iliad* (1.349). His tears are adumbrated by the gesture of Briseis as she wipes one eye dry with the other fixed on the viewer, as if to say, "you and I both know this business will end badly". If the presence of the seated Agamemnon between two pictures of the seated Achilles was intended to highlight his higher status, then his absence from the Briseis-painting, where he is replaced by his heralds, emphasizes his unwillingness to do his own dirty work.

One interesting feature of the Briseis-painting is the way the shields of the soldiers standing in the background provide a frame for the heads of the figures in the foreground. The heads of both Briseis and Patroclus are both outlined in

this way, but the treatment of Achilles is remarkable. The sun gleams off the shield on which his head is centered, creating an effect which is very like a nimbus. Of course, the line drawings of Steinbüchel are not capable of reproducing this, but several of his pictures show a similar compositional effect. In the Calchas-picture (fig. 22), the shield of a soldier in the background frames Achilles' head in a similar way. In the quarrel-picture, it is Agamemnon whose head is framed by a shield (fig. 15), suggesting perhaps that the quasi-nimbus effect was designed to serve, along with distinction of remaining seated, to emphasize relative status. In the drawing of Priam kneeling before Achilles (fig. 54), the figure behind the seated hero holds a shield which serves as a background for his torso rather than his head, but which similarly puts the emphasis on the seated figure. Furthermore, the head peeping out over the top of that shield behind Achilles is similar to the figure in same position behind Achilles in the Briseis-painting. The bottom part of the Briseis-painting is not well preserved, but Morelli's tempera reproduction sees a shield resting against Achilles' throne, behind the legs of Patroclus. If this is right, it matches the throne Achilles sits on when receiving the kneeling Priam (fig. 54) and presumably also when listening to Calchas, though Steinbüchel does not show us exactly what Achilles is sitting on behind the shield in that scene (fig. 22).

Of course, these parallels could be dismissed as commonplaces or ascribed to a general compositional strategy that any artist might share, but there are enough small similarities to suggest that the pairing with the quarrel-painting was not an accident. If it was derived from a source other than the Apollo-portico, it is remarkable that it fits so well stylistically and illustrates so perfectly the aftermath of the quarrel-scene. There is perhaps enough evidence to suggest tentatively that the Briseis-painting was part of the cycle in the Temple of Apollo, but the evidence is circumstantial and certainty is impossible. Of course, it is also true that the painter of the atrium may have taken liberties with his immediate model; but if the point was to evoke the *Iliad* via the visual representation in the Temple of Apollo, we might expect as close a copy as the quarrel-picture seems to have been. In fact, it is not an utter novelty to make this guess; others have suggested that the Briseis-painting might derive from the Trojan War cycle in Rome which, as will be argued below, may have inspired the cycle in the Pompeian temple.[61] Nevertheless, the usual route for explaining one of the most iconic images to come from Pompeii has been to invent an otherwise unattested masterpiece of Greek painting as its immediate model.

One problem with identifying the Briseis painting as a copy of a Greek original is that other representations of this scene give the impression of being a series of differing interpretations drawing on a common store of interrelated iconographic elements, not a series of attempts to imitate a single masterpiece. This can be illustrated by looking at the work of ancient art that comes closest to the compo-

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[61] Rodenwaldt 1909, 202, Bulas 1929, 80, Six 1917, 188.

Figure 69: Mosaic of Achilles handing over Briseis in the Getty Villa.

sition of the Pompeian painting, a mosaic in the collection of the Getty museum (fig. 69).[62] The piece is of uncertain date and unknown provenance, but the other two known mosaics of the departure of Briseis are from second- or third-century Antioch, so a roughly similar place and time of origin might be guessed for this piece.[63] For us, the striking thing about this mosaic is the way Achilles is seated in a throne on the left side of the picture in a similar posture, looking back over his left shoulder towards the departing Briseis as in the Pompeian painting. Yet there are more differences than similarities. In the mosaic, a later moment is depicted, when the heralds have crossed from left to right and have taken hold of Briseis; Patroclus has released her, moved from right to left and stands behind Achilles, having swapped position with the heralds. In the background we see a tent hung

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[62] Published by von Gozenbach 1975.
[63] See Levi 1947, 46–9, 195–8. In particular, the mosaic from the House of Briseis' farewell depicts one of the heralds in strikingly similar fashion.

with circular ornaments instead of an angular building with the sea and ships in the distance, as in the painting. All of these differences may be paralleled in a representation of the scene from the Ambrosian codex of the *Iliad*, so we cannot dismiss them as mistakes of a poor copyist.[64] There is at least one other tradition contributing to the iconography.

In fact, things get more complicated than that, for the mosaic adds features that seem to belong better to the embassy to Achilles in Book 9 of the *Iliad*. Next to the hero's throne is not a shield but an enormous silver stringed instrument, which clearly recalls the instrument Achilles is playing when the later embassy arrives (*Il.* 9.185–8). This lyre, too, can be paralleled elsewhere, in one of the mosaics from Antioch, which otherwise has a completely different conception of the scene.[65] Furthermore, the imposing figure behind Achilles' left shoulder in the Getty mosaic would seem to be Phoenix, for want of a better identification. The same figure appears in the Pompeian painting, but in a radically different guise: short, clean-shaven, balding and part of the background. The mosaic brings him to the front, and gives him an impressive beard and head of hair. His thoughtful, worried gesture in the painting has disappeared in the mosaic, or perhaps it has been transferred to Achilles. The prominence of Phoenix seems again to evoke the embassy of Book 9. Perhaps this mosaic, or an ancestor of the image, wished by this synchronic composition to make the point that the events of the *Iliad* are determined by the aftermath of two embassies: the first one in which Agamemnon is in the wrong, and another in which Achilles is in the wrong.[66]

So there are multiple streams of iconography contributing to the Getty mosaic, among which the branch represented by the Pompeian painting is only one. This does not seem anything like a tradition in which a masterpiece of Hellenistic painting exerted such a powerful pull that all other representations were more or less successful attempts to copy it. Indeed, a recent overview of all of the representations of the taking of Briseis rightly concluded that it is impossible to create a clear and uncontaminated stemma out of the iconographical variants.[67] Both the Getty mosaic and the Pompeian painting use elements of a common fund of iconography to represent this scene, and we can imagine that some works of Hellenistic panel painting may well have contributed elements to that fund; but these works in fresco and mosaic have their own agenda. The composition in the House of the Tragic Poet was a copy, but not of a painting far distant in time and space. Like its companion piece, the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon, it was probably copied from the Iliadic cycle in the Temple of Apollo for a particular, rhetorical purpose. If that cycle was in turn copied from the Portico of Philippus in Rome, then the atrium also had a second model with which its visual dynamics resonated.

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[64] See Bianchi Bandinelli 1955, 55, fig. 42.
[65] From the House of Aion: Levi 1947, pl. 43c.
[66] For a closely related argument, see Fantuzzi 2012, 180–5.
[67] Frangini and Martinelli 1981, 8–10.

Other Trojan Cycles in Pompeii

We have looked at rooms where it is possible to argue that pairs of paintings were taken from the Apollo-portico as a unit. What about other rooms in Pompeii with miniature Trojan cycles or even isolated scenes from the *Iliad*? Can we assume that all of them are derived from the Temple of Apollo? The answer is clearly no. There were other visual traditions and other models for paintings of the Trojan War which had little to do with the Temple of Apollo. Good examples of this are the three Homeric cycles from houses on the Via dell'Abbondanza that were documented by Spinazzola, and which have some similarities but no unmistakable compositional echoes of the temple.[68] Even for domestic groupings of full-scale figural Trojan paintings there are likely to have been other models available for Homeric scenes besides the ones in the Temple of Apollo. With these cautions in mind, we will nevertheless attempt to read one final domestic room in Pompeii as influenced by the Apollo-portico, for here, crucially, we can postulate a link, though an admittedly tenuous and indirect one, with the temple. The first step will be to accept that the picture of Achilles on Scyros was part of the portico on the basis of the way it is paired in at least two separate contexts with the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon. This presumably lies, in part, behind the general popularity of the Scryos-episode throughout Pompeii, even in those examples which exhibit a very different view of the episode.[69] Among those widely varying representations, there are three which are closely based on the same model: we have already looked at the two which are paired with the quarrel-picture; it is now time to look at the third. It is an interesting coincidence that it too is juxtaposed with other Trojan paintings. Were these paintings also copied from the Apollo portico? Clearly we must be careful, for at this point we are dealing with evidence at a double remove from paintings directly attested in the portico, but it is worth examining the hypothesis.

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[68] Spinazzola 1953 and see also Brilliant 1984, 60-5. Celani 1998, 163 notes that the Iliadic scenes in the House of the Cryptoportico are roughly contemporary with the Portico of Philippus.

[69] For a list, see *LIMC* s.v. "Achilleus" 108 (the present typology) and 109–112.

Figure 70: Painting of Achilles on Scyros from the House of Achilles/Domus Uboni.

The room in question comes from a house which goes by various names, in-cluding the House of Achilles and the Domus Uboni (ix.5.2). In a room off the peristyle are three paintings of episodes from the story of Achilles which survived fairly complete but which are cruder in execution than the paintings in the House of the Dioscuri or of the Tragic Poet. On the central north wall, facing the entrance to the room, there was a painting which is very clearly copied from the same model as the discovery of Achilles on Scyros in the House of the Dioscuri, despite count-less small differences of detail. Unlike that version, of which only the right half survived, and unlike the low-resolution mosaic from the House of Apollo which is simplified to three figures, this version shows the entire composition (fig. 70).[70] The other two figural paintings in this room are closely related in theme.[71] It was Thetis who hid Achilles on Scyros and she is the focus of the other two pictures. One shows the scene from the *Iliad* where she receives Achilles' new armor from Hephaestus and the other shows her apparently delivering armor to her son. Did either of these come, like the Scyros-picture, from the Temple of Apollo? Not on the evidence presented so far. But one of the two images exhibits some interesting similarities to other paintings from there.

Thetis receiving new armor for Achilles from Hephaestus is, like the subject of Achilles on Scyros, another very popular subject throughout Pompeii. Also like the Scyros-paintings, some of the images are free reinterpretations of the theme, but six are very similar and are clearly copies of one original.[72] Let us therefore try our hypothesis that such close copies are not versions of a distant Greek masterpiece, but derive from a local monument of prominence. We can reconstruct that original in general terms on the basis of the consensus of these mutually similar copies, of which the most detailed is the version from the House of Achilles/Domus Uboni (fig. 71). That original version must have juxtaposed, like almost all of the other paintings in the portico of the Temple of Apollo, a standing and a seated figure. Thetis, the higher-status divinity, sits on the right while Hephaestus stands on the left and holds out the shield, which rests on an anvil at the center. The shield is the centerpiece and focus of the image, which corresponds to the prominence with which shields feature in many of the paintings in the temple cycle, even though Steinbüchel's drawings do not show us any elaborate decoration on them. To judge from several of the copies, the shield in the original painting bore indications of the zodiac and other cosmological symbols. A winged figure behind Thetis points

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[70] For a comparison of this painting and the one in the House of the Dioscuri, see Beard and Henderson 2001, 26–9, with figs. 18–20, with color illustrations of all three images; see also Ling 1991, 132–4 with figs. 137–8.

[71] Lorenz 2008, 294–5.

[72] For a discussion of the typologies, see P. R. Hardie 1985, 18–20 with pl. 1a,b,c, who, following Scherf, calls the six similar paintings type A and the two variations, in which Thetis uses the shield as a mirror, type B. On the similarities between the type A images, see Bulas 1929, 87 ("presque identique").

to it with a thin wand; Thetis puts her hand to her mouth and reacts in horror to what she sees. This reconstruction is owed to P. R. Hardie, who has convincingly argued that what Thetis is seeing in the shield is the horoscope of Achilles and the forecast of his swiftly approaching death:[73]

> This would give the nice irony that Achilles bears as emblem of his powers the image of the heavens themselves, but that this image of his might is also an image of his inevitable subjection to the laws of fate as proclaimed in the stars.

The thin pointer which focuses the viewer's attention on the device on the shield functions in the same way as the end of Odysseus' spear in the Scyros-painting, which highlights the device on Achilles' shield of his musical tuition with Chiron.[74] Given the probability that some version of the scene of Thetis and Hephaestus would have featured in the Iliadic cycle of the Temple of Apollo, the presence of no fewer than six apparently close copies of an image of this scene in domestic contexts across the city, the appearance elsewhere of two imaginative variations on the theme in which Thetis uses the shield as a mirror, the similarities with other paintings from the temple cycle, and its pairing with the Scyros-picture, there are some reasonable circumstantial grounds to suspect that the original was found in the temple.[75]

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[73] P. R. Hardie 1985, 20.

[74] This parallel is noted by Beard and Henderson 2001, 41. The spear of Achilles happens to be lacking in the version of the Scyros-painting in the House of Achilles, but its presence in the original is confirmed by the other two close copies.

[75] On the twist in which Thetis gazes at herself in the mirror, see P. R. Hardie 1985, 19, Beard and Henderson 2001, 42 and the wider speculations of Taylor 2008, 143–58.

Figure 71: Painting of Thetis at the Forge of Hephaestus from the Domus Uboni

What of the third Trojan painting in the room of the House of Achilles with the Scyros-picture and the Hephaestus-picture? This shows Thetis riding a Triton as she carries armor across the sea, presumably to Achilles. At first sight, this might seem the obvious sequel to the scene in the forge of Hephaestus, but it has been suggested that it could equally represent the first set of armor that Thetis delivered to her son before he set out for Troy.[76] In that case, the painting is the sequel to the Scyros-picture. Either episode might have featured in the Temple of Apollo, but not necessarily so. But there are no other features in common with those compositions: no tension between a seated and a standing figure, no drama. So there is little ground for believing that this painting was copied, like the other two in the room, from the temple. Rather, the painter was perhaps drawing out a subtle connection between the scenes that were drawn from it and posing a small riddle to the viewer: which set of armor is Thetis delivering? Which of the two paintings from the temple portico is this one the sequel to? These questions will have prompted the viewer to contemplate the repetition in Achilles' life, his mother twice arming him for battle. On this reading, there are potentially three distinct sets of armor for Achilles in this room. The first is the set that Odysseus uses to lure him out of his female disguise, the second is the set that Thetis brings to him before he sets out for Troy and the third is the set to replace the second, taken by Hector. The three sets of armor trace the trajectory of Achilles' life from the comedy of childhood to the serious business of adulthood to the tragedy of his encounter with Hector, which is the prelude to his own death.[77]

These compositions did appear together in other contexts, but that could have been due to the pull of thematic unity rather than having been drawn from the same cycle. In the triclinium of the Casa delle Quadrighe (vii.2.25), there were compositions similar to the ones we have been considering: Hephaestus showing the shield to Thetis and Thetis carrying the armor across the sea (here the shield apparently bore the device of a dolphin), along with Hephaestus in the act of forging the shield.[78] In the House of Meleager (vi.9.2) are also found images of Thetis at the forge of Hephaestus and Thetis delivering the weapons, but in different rooms.[79] The House of the Dioscuri also has a painting of Thetis delivering the weapons in one of its rooms.[80] The House of the Menander has a small cycle of images of the sack of Troy, and in the nearby room a painting that might have shown Thetis delivering the weapons.[81] We cannot conclude that the portico was the model for all of these juxtapositions; nevertheless they are likely to have been

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[76] S. G. Miller 1986.

[77] See also the discussion of Brilliant 1984, 67–8.

[78] Helbig 1868, 259, 1318, 1319.

[79] Helbig 1868, 1317, 1320.

[80] Helbig 1868, 1321.

[81] See Lorenz 2008, 292–4 and Ling et al. 1997–2005, vol. 2, 72–6, who decides in the end that the badly damaged painting just showed a generic Nereid.

influenced by it.[82]

Another very interesting house for Trojan material is the Casa di Sirico (vii.1.25), which is the location of the painting of Apollo and Poseidon building the walls of Troy which was discussed in the previous chapter (fig. 38). Diepolder thought that the posture of Apollo was similar enough to Steinbüchel's drawing of Machaon to identify it; we saw, however, that this parallel was not specific enough and that several of the pictures in the portico had figures in a similar posture.[83] Perhaps we can turn that argument on its head: the frequency with which this posture is repeated in the portico cycle is perhaps an indication not that this is the same image as the Machaon painting, but that it belongs to that cycle and was created by the same artist. This painting turns on the contrast between the seated Poseidon on one side of the image and the standing Apollo on the other, and that is one of the hallmarks of paintings from the Apollo-portico. In the very same room we find the image of Thetis and Hephaestus discussed above, along with Apollo and the Muses.[84] In another room of that house was an Achilles on Scyros, though one which was very different from the compositional scheme we have attributed to the temple.[85] In yet another room of that same house was found a famous painting of the wounded Aeneas being treated by Iapyx, which is unique in that it depicts a scene from Virgil's *Aeneid*, displaying the same sort of close reading that the paintings in the Temple of Apollo give to Homer's *Iliad*. The owner of this house was clearly interested in visual representations of epic, but that is perhaps all we can say.

To sum up, there are three well-known Trojan images from houses in Pompeii which can be shown to have a connection with the Temple of Apollo and have some chance of having been adapted from that source. In decreasing order of certainty, these are: the discovery of Achilles on Scyros, the removal of Briseis from the camp of Achilles and Thetis in the forge of Hephaestus. It has been well known for many years that several, very similar versions of the first and third of those compositions were found all over Pompeii, but the obsession with inventing Greek originals meant that the local model for these was never properly considered. Recent work has preferred to ignore the issue, perhaps assuming that appreciating each work of Roman art in its particular, local context is incompatible with the status of being a copy. We have seen, however, that the local meaning of a work of art in a community has to be interpreted in terms of the shared experience of that community. These domestic allusions to local public art derive part of their meaning from their intertextual network within the city of Pompeii and we are able to generate richer readings of those works from recognizing that, as well as adding to our knowledge of the temple portico.

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[82] See Lewis 1973, 311; and Ling et al. 1997–2005, vol. 2, 72.

[83] See Diepolder 1926, 70 with the discussion of the Machaon painting in the previous chapter.

[84] See Helbig 1868, index, p. 479.

[85] Helbig 1868, 1300.

Metropolis and Periphery

If the Trojan cycle in the Temple of Apollo was so influential locally in Pompeii, it is natural to ask whether it was in turn a reflection of a Roman monument that was influential more globally. This question brings us to what may be a more controversial application of the intertextual principle for reading Roman art. It may be well and good to relate domestic art to public art; it is clear that everyone in Pompeii will have been acquainted with the Temple of Apollo and so will have had a framework for understanding local quotations therefrom. But the much larger question of the relationship between the Temple of Apollo and possible models in Rome may be more controversial. Once again, we face a situation where the methodological pendulum has swung to a position where any discussion of the role of local copying and metropolitan models may seem retrograde, undermining the importance of understanding Roman art with respect to its local context. The situation is the same, however: we can only understand the local meaning of the Temple of Apollo by examining the way it adapted and modified cosmopolitan models. The language spoken by the monument was not purely local, but was designed to position the city of Pompeii within the Roman world, and it did this, as we will see, not only by its similarities to monuments in Rome, but also by means of significant differences. Not everyone in Pompeii will have been to Rome and so have been able to compare the local model with its exemplars, but the most influential citizens will have done, and another important part of the audience will have been high-status visitors to Pompeii.

To reiterate: there is no proof or direct evidence connecting the Trojan cycle in the portico of the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii with the Trojan cycle in the Portico of Philippus in Rome. There is only circumstantial evidence, but it is suggestive. As we will see, the Pompeian monument was built and decorated about two decades after the Roman one: does this coincidence demand an explanation? In the building of Eumachia, there is a powerful parallel right across the Forum which demonstrates that precisely this sort of public emulation of buildings in Rome did occur in Pompeii. We will also see of the magistrates responsible for the portico emulating Augustan models in other public works in the town.

If we accept that it must be more than a coincidence when a local temple adopts the same decorative program as a new Roman monument, three further objections may be raised. The first is that the temple in Pompeii was dedicated to a different god than the one in Rome. As we will see, this is a trivial objection; it is one of the differences that articulated the specifically Pompeian agenda of the building. The second objection is that, even if the idea of a Trojan cycle was adopted from Rome, the particular iconography of the paintings in Pompeii might have been quite different. This possibility must be admitted, but the *tabulae Iliacae*, which are so often the main parallels for the Pompeian paintings, and which were almost all found in the suburbs of Rome, suggest a common metropolitan

model. We will return to all of these considerations below, but first we must go into considerable detail discussing the third and most important objection to the connection posited here between Pompeii and Rome, which is the dating of the portico of the Temple of Apollo. If you look at the standard reference works, you will be told that the portico was built in the second century BC, and that its painted decoration was in the fourth Pompeian style, which is dated to the decades just before the eruption of Vesuvius. In other words, the portico would seem to have nothing to do with the Augustan period in which the Roman portico was built and decorated. We must therefore first demonstrate that the portico was built around 10 BC, and then that the fourth-style redecoration was only partial and continued to reflect its original theme.

Constructing the Portico

The usual second-century BC date for the Sanctuary of Apollo, including both the temple and its portico, derives from the work of the great Pompeian scholar August Mau, who assigned the entire complex to his "Tufa period".[86] This is uncontroversial for the temple itself. The floor of the cella bears a dedicatory inscription in Oscan whose decipherment finally led to the correct identification of the temple as belonging to Apollo, after having been called for so long the Temple of Venus:[87]

> Ú Kamp[annis . kva]ísstur kúmbenni[eís tanginud] Apelluneís eítiu[vad.....úps]annu aaman[aff]ed
>
> Oppius Campanius, as quaestor, by order of the council, with the funds of Apollo, contracted the construction of …

It has been debated whether the missing word should indicate the temple or just the pavement. The god named in the inscription confirmed the interpretation of the stone embedded in the cella floor as an omphalos. The language of the inscription confirms that the cella dates to the pre-Roman period.[88] This temple building was probably decorated with a pediment and frieze in terracotta which featured scenes of Apollo with Marsyas, the Muses and others; these were later removed, possibly due to damage in the earthquake of AD 62. With respect to the portico that surrounds the sanctuary and defines its boundaries, recent investigations have suggested that Mau was wrong and that there is very good reason to think that it was built in the age of Augustus.

The crucial piece of evidence for this later phase of building is an inscription from the sanctuary of Augustan date which records that the city magistrates had

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[86] For the traditional view of the architecture of the temple, see Richardson, Jr. 1988, 89–95.

[87] Quoted after Buck 1904, 241, n 6 who gives a Latin translation; see illustrations in Baldassarre et al. 1990–9, vol. 7, 301, figs. 24–6.

[88] On the early history of the temple, see De Caro 2007, 73–78.

purchased the right to block the light to an adjacent house and had a private wall built with public funds:[89]

> M. Holconius Rufus d[uo]v[ir] i[uri] d[icundo] tert[ium], C. Egnatius Postumus d. v. i. d. iter[um] ex d[ecurionum] d[ecreto] ius luminum opstruendorum H̶S̶ ∞ ∞ ∞ redemerunt parietemque privatum Col[oniae] Ven[eriae] Cor[neliae] usque ad tegulas faciundum coerarunt
>
> Marcus Holconius Rufus, duumvir with judiciary authority for the third time, and Gaius Egnatius Postumus, duumvir with judiciary authority for the second time, in accordance with a decree of the council, purchased for 3,000 sestertii the right to block off the light and caused a private wall to be built right up to the roof-tiles for the benefit of the colony of Pompeii.

It is generally agreed, even by Mau, that this must refer to the west side of the portico, as it perfectly explains two of the peculiarities on that side of the sanctuary: the strange jog in the street-plan at the north-west corner and the presence of the blind alley behind the west wall.[90] Where the west side of the portico now stands there must once have been a street running north from the Via Marina, which connected with the road that still runs north from the north-west corner of the sanctuary. The houses in the block to the west of the sanctuary would once have had windows and doors opening onto that street, but all that was left of it after the widening of the sanctuary was the tiny blind alley that many of our early visitors thought was a channel for water. For this reason, the municipal authorities must have paid to rebuild that private wall without doors and windows, for it now faced a blank wall; they also compensated the owners for the loss of light.

Recent archaeological investigations by J. Dobbins and his collaborators have tended to confirm the inference from the inscription that the surrounding portico was built in the Augustan period.[91] The excavators point out that that inscription only records the rebuilding of the wall adjacent to the west wall of the sanctuary because of the extraordinary use of public funds for a private construction; there was no need to record in the same way the building of the walls of the portico itself. The changes to the adjoining private block only make sense, however, in the context of a general modification of the boundaries of the sanctuary to include the road to the west. Therefore, the inscription that records the remodeling of the private block to the west of the portico can also give us a rough date for the building of the portico in its present state. Dobbins and his team of excavators dug several trenches around the portico, one of which established stratigraphic corroboration of an Augustan date for the west wall. Archaeological investigation on the east side was less conclusive, but tended to support the probability that, with the exception of the earlier massive piers, the rest of the east side was built at the same Augustan

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[89] *CIL* X.787, on which see Dobbins et al. 1998, whose account of the evidence is followed here.

[90] Mau 1904, 85–6.

[91] See Dobbins et al. 1998 and Carroll and Godden 2000.

date as the west side. They concluded:[92]

> Our saggi and the inscription *CIL* X.787 suggest a date of ca. 10 BC for a major Augustan project that expanded the sanctuary, introduced the tufa colonnade, and presumably included the installation of sills between the piers and the raising of the ground level in the new portico.

The approximate date of ca. 10 BC is derived from the same inscription, which names the duovirs, joint holders of the chief annual magistracy in Pompeii, who oversaw the work. It specifies that it was the third tenure of that office for Marcus Holconius Rufus, who was "without a doubt the most distinguished personage in Pompeii in the Augustan period".[93] He held it five times, and another inscription tells us that part of his fourth year-long term of office fell in 2 BC.[94] On the grounds that at least five years had to pass between terms of office, his third duumvirate is usually dated to around 10 BC, but we should remember that this is a very rough guess.[95] As we will see, the Portico of Philippus in Rome was probably built not long after the battle of Actium, perhaps around 28 BC. If we assume that the cycle of paintings of the Trojan War which is attested later by Pliny the Elder was part of the original decoration of that Portico, then we have a recent metropolitan model for the decorative theme of the Pompeian portico. The Temple of Palatine Apollo had been dedicated around the same time, so that provides an additional model for a major refurbishment of Pompeii's oldest and arguably most important temple. The ideology of Augustus, which highlighted his intimate connection with Apollo, made Pompeii's old connection with that god suddenly relevant.

This tendency to emulate Augustan models in the city of Rome is paralleled in the other public buildings in Pompeii of the magistrate Holconius Rufus.[96] The largest building project he undertook in Pompeii was a major renovation of the large theater at the private expense of himself and a close relative.[97] This was clearly modeled on the Theater of Marcellus built by Augustus in Rome, and accordingly the Pompeian theater was dedicated to Augustus; a statue of Marcellus stood nearby.[98] Moreover, it attempted to replicate not only the architecture but also the ideology of that structure. Augustus passed legislation enforcing more strictly the separate seating in theaters of different ranks of the population, and this separation was reflected in the design of the theater of Marcellus.[99] The same separation of social classes is evident in the new design of the theater in Pom-

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[92] Dobbins et al. 1998, 756.

[93] Castrén 1983, 69; on his career, see Beard 2009, 206–10.

[94] *CIL* X.890.

[95] See Mau 1904, 85–6.

[96] See D'Arms 1988, Beard 2009, 209–10 and Zanker 1998, 107–14.

[97] *CIL* X.833–5.

[98] *CIL* X.832 and 842; D'Arms 1988, 54–5.

[99] On the legislation, see Rawson 1987; I owe the point about the design of the theater of Marcellus to a lecture by Edmund Thomas.

peii.[100] As a token of the town's thanks to this benefactor, a statue of Holconius Rufus was later erected in front of the Stabian baths.[101] The statue was likely to have been commissioned from Rome and was modeled on the cult statue of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus.[102] No doubt Holconius, who had also been a priest of Augustus and patron of the colony, was pleased with the tribute, for it summed up his career as an intermediary between Augustan Rome and Pompeii. An important early step in that career will have been the building of a new portico for the local temple of Augustus' patron, Apollo, and its decorative program emulating the Portico of Philippus. The *ludi Apollinares*, a feast in honor of Apollo, were of particular importance during the Augustan period; the magistrates organized events in both the amphitheater and the forum, adjacent to the god's newly refurbished temple.[103]

If, as is argued in more detail below, the portico of the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii was a designed to recall a mixture of two related Augustan monuments in Rome – the Temple of Palatine Apollo and the Portico of Philippus – we have an excellent parallel for that kind of mixing of Augustan models directly across the forum in Pompeii. The building of Eumachia seems to have been inspired in part by the Portico of Livia as a model for civic benefaction by a woman; both are dedicated to *Concordia Augusta*.[104] Its form does not, however, simply duplicate that model; it was a complex hybrid of various Augustan buildings. Aspects of the marble decoration have been compared favorably with the work on the Ara Pacis, and may even have been ordered from a Roman workshop.[105] Most importantly for our purposes, the facade of the building announced its debt to the ideological program of the Forum of Augustus. There were placed statues of Romulus and Aeneas along with verbatim copies of their honorary inscriptions.[106] This seems to have been intended to suggest that the niches inside, which were presumably intended for statues of local dignitaries, were the Pompeian equivalent of the statues of great men from Roman history that decorated the Forum of Augustus. For our purposes, it is most interesting that the Eumachia building quoted the statue and inscription of Aeneas, for that provides an exact parallel for the Trojan paintings, also featuring Aeneas, across the Pompeian Forum. Both buildings reproduce Augustus' efforts to link Rome to its Trojan past via the ancestry of his own family. In a way, the Eumachia inscription provides the sequel.[107] The Apollo-portico began

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[100] See Zanker 1998, 113–4.

[101] *CIL* X.830.

[102] See Zanker 1981 and Welch 2007, 555–8.

[103] See Zanker 1998, 80.

[104] *CIL* X.810. See Dobbins 1994, 647–61, Richardson, Jr. 1978 and D'Arms 1988, 53. The date of the building is disputed, but it probably belongs to the late Augustan period.

[105] Zanker 1998, 95–6.

[106] *CIL* X.808–9.

[107] The dating of the building is contested, but the parallels suggest the late Augustan period; see Dobbins 1994, 647.

with the childhood of Aeneas and showed his duel against Diomedes; it possibly continued on to show his flight from Troy on the west half of the south wall. The statue across the forum likewise showed him carrying his father from the ruins of Troy and the inscription began from that point; but it went on to emphasize his achievement in crossing to Italy, founding Lavinium, ruling over it for three years and ultimately ascending into heaven to be counted among the gods of Rome. The two monuments allude to the two halves of Aeneas' life, with the fall of Troy as the turning point.

In 2 BC, the year that Holconius served as duumvir for the fourth time, his colleague was a man named A. Clodius Flaccus, who was serving for the third time. An inscription records the spectacles put on for the people of Pompeii on the occasion of each of his three duumvirates.[108] There were bullfights, boxing matches, music and theatrical performances in the Forum and hunts and gladiatorial displays in the amphitheater. That inscription lays particular emphasis on the fact that these lavish displays were put on at the festival of Apollo. The use of the Forum as the venue suggests that the festivities were closely connected with the newly renovated temple precinct. The prominence of the feast of Apollo in the Augustan period was presumably part of the same public spirit that led to the renovation of the sanctuary of the god. Also associated with Clodius Flaccus is the *mensa ponderaria* which was installed in his first term as duumvir on the forum side of the false pillar at the northern end of the east wall of the Temple of Apollo.[109] This brought the weights and measures used in the city into line with the rest of the Roman world ruled by Augustus.

The efforts by Dobbins et al. to re-date the portico of the Temple of Apollo to the Augustan period have not met with universal assent, even though the evidence of the inscription ought to be incontrovertible.[110] One counter-argument has been made by Guzzo and Pesando, who adduce the testimony of the masons' marks which are found on stones used in the construction of various buildings and especially the city walls of Pompeii.[111] Some of these marks may have some relationship to the Oscan alphabet and Mau believed that their use was restricted to buildings constructed before Pompeii became a Roman colony.[112] The meaning of these marks is quite uncertain; we do not even know if they were used in the quarrying of the stone or the construction of the buildings. Since the marks appear to be arbitrary symbols and do not have any clear meaning as abbreviations, it would not be surprising if marks which happen to have an Oscan origin continued to be used into the Roman period, especially since they are not meant

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[108] *CIL* X.1074.

[109] *CIL* X.793.

[110] See Dobbins 2007, 181–2, n 84; most recently Moormann 2011, 84–5 prefers the old dating, as does Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 131–33.

[111] Guzzo and Pesando 2002.

[112] *CIL* IV.5508.

for public consumption. When Pompeii became a Roman city, it changed many things, but it is not obvious that its methods for quarrying the local tufa was one of them. In fact, however, the masons' marks used in the portico of Apollo are, for the most part, obviously analphabetic and symbolic. The marks most commonly found in the portico are of a type which is distinctive and almost unique to that building: variants on a star formed with three straight lines.[113] This was probably just a mark from the quarry indicating that the block was intended for delivery to the portico. The only mark from this location that might yield any intrinsic sense is one which looks like the number eleven or nine, but this could have been in either Roman or Oscan numerals; the same mark is found on the steps of the Temple of Jupiter, which is likely to date to the Roman period.[114] It is clear that what we should discard is Mau's generalization about the use of masons' marks in Pompeii being exclusively pre-Roman.[115]

Another objection to the revised dating of the portico has been based on the presence there of a dedicatory inscription on a statue base which records in Oscan the name of Lucius Mummius, the Roman general who destroyed Corinth in 146 BC.[116] The inscription was concealed in antiquity with a coat of plaster which has only recently been removed to allow it to be read in full. It has been suggested that the base originally held a statue of Mummius himself, but it is more likely that it held a dedication by Mummius of an object from the vast amount of booty he took from Greece and is known to have distributed among the towns of Italy.[117] Martelli argues that the presence of this dedication supports a mid-second century BC date for the portico. He observes that under several statue bases there is a raised section in the step that runs around the inside of the columns on which the bases were located (letters A–F on fig. 9). This implies that the portico was built with a view to providing a special place for several of the statues that were located there, including the Mummius dedication. This is all quite correct, but the implication for the dating of the sanctuary is quite the opposite: the portico must post-date the existence of the dedication. The Augustan portico was designed and custom-built to accommodate several pre-existing dedications in new positions.[118] When Mummius gave his gift, it was presumably placed somewhere in the old sanctuary precinct surrounding the Temple of Apollo and was given an Oscan inscription. When the Augustan portico was built, a special place was provided for the preservation of this important dedication to the god, but the old inscription was plastered over as not in keeping with the Roman orientation of the portico.

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[113] *CIL* IV.5508.1–3 and Marriott 1895, 77.

[114] *CIL* IV.5508.

[115] Not only in the portico of Apollo, but also in the triangular forum, which is the main topic of Guzzo and Pesando 2002.

[116] Martelli 2002.

[117] Martelli 2002, 76–7.

[118] Thus Dobbins 2007, 182, n. 84 and see further Descoeudres 2007, 11.

Several other objections have been made to the new dating on the basis of other finds from the area, but these can all be related to earlier phases of the development of the sanctuary. Excavations were conducted in the sanctuary by A. Maiuri in the 1930s and 1940s, but were only published in the 1980s by S. De Caro.[119] The surviving documentation did not include much stratigraphic information but the prevalence of archaic votive deposits did confirm that this location had been a cult place since the earliest settlement. Excavations in 1980–1 for electric cables running outside the eastern and southern boundary of the sanctuary found more votive material and suggested that the sacred area was once larger, extending to the east and south of the present boundary, before the construction of the Forum and the via Marina.[120] It seems likely that there was an intervention in the mid-second century BC which systematized and reduced the size of the precinct of Apollo; the large piers in the eastern wall may well belong to that phase. It would not be surprising if the sanctuary once also extended further west than at present, and Maiuri claimed that a wall under the *insula* to the west of the sanctuary was the original western boundary.[121] If so, the arguments of Dobbins et al. would have to be modified slightly to see the street which was replaced by the west wall of the Augustan portico as having been created in the second century BC by cutting through the old sanctuary in order to define a new western boundary for it. Around the same time, the eastern part of Apollo's sanctuary was appropriated as part of the new forum, and the new eastern boundary which was provided survives in the form of the pillars of the east wall. There was thus a coherent development of the forum area in the second century BC which substantially reduced the bounds of the very large sacred area of Apollo on at least three sides: east, south and west.

It is ironic that the weight of Mau's authority has been responsible for the persistence of the second-century BC date for the portico of Apollo, for he is the one who brilliantly articulated how all the sculpture found there can be explained in terms of the ideology of Augustus.[122] In his reconstruction of the original positions of the various statues, they were organized in pairs. He implies that it was the statue of Venus from the portico that was originally on top of the base with the effaced Mummius inscription to the left of the entrance along the south side (letter A on fig. 9). This fit with the new Augustan theme of the portico as an acknowledgement of the goddess from whom the Julian family traced its descent. If we are right in guessing that the Trojan cycle concluded to the left of the south entrance with the escape of Aeneas and Anchises from Troy, then the statue of Venus stood in front of them. The pairing of Apollo and Diana (letters C and

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[119] De Caro 1986.

[120] Arthur 1986. The deposits do not show much affinity with Apollo; one wonders if the area was dedicated to that god from the beginning.

[121] Maiuri 1973, 131; this point is offered as an objection to the Augustan dating by Guzzo and Pesando 2002, 118–19.

[122] Mau 1904, 87–90.

D on fig. 9) needs no explanation in a Temple of Apollo, and it is possible that these statues may be of Augustan date.[123] The appearance of a herm representing Mercury (letter F on fig. 9) is more surprising. Mau suggests that it would have been paired with another herm representing Maia, mother of Mercury, on the basis of the connected worship of those two deities in Pompeii, whose worship was later connected with Augustus.[124] Mau adds that Augustus himself was linked with Mercury in one of Horace's *Odes* (1.2). The last piece of surviving statuary from the portico was a Hermaphoditus (letter B on fig. 9), which brings us full circle, for he was the product of the union of Venus and Mercury. In addition to these important Augustan connections noted by Mau, there is one other thing these gods have in common: Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite and Hermes are all gods on the Trojan side in the *Iliad*.

Mounting the Paintings

Now that we have discussed the date of the construction of the fabric of the portico walls, we can begin to approach the dating of the paintings that adorned it. These are generally ascribed to the fourth and final Pompeian style, which was in use in the last decades of the city's life.[125] How we reconcile the Augustan date of the construction of the portico with the later date of its painted decoration is obviously going to be crucial for our attempt to connect the ideology of the portico with the age of Augustus. Before discussing the date of the paintings, however, we need in this section to examine the manner in which they were affixed to the walls, for in a number of regards this was quite remarkable.

We may begin by returning to the question of the *tegulae mammatae* on the west wall, the presence of which was so frequently noted as a peculiar feature of the sanctuary in the early nineteenth century. These are the tiles that create a false wall for the painted plaster to adhere to, with a gap behind for air to circulate. As we may recall, the Romans used these tiles for two purposes, either to conduct hot air in the construction of baths or to provide a dry surface for the fixture of wall paintings in damp conditions. The first option is excluded, so the second must be correct, but it is not obvious where the moisture was coming from. The west wall was extremely well ventilated; better so than the north wall, which had rooms on the other side. The purpose of the dead space in the blind alley was to serve as insulation from dampness, sound and vibration from the private accommodation in the adjacent *insula*; the tiny gap between tile and wall would have added no more protection of any significance.

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[123] On the grounds of their alleged poor quality, the statues have been dated to the late first century BC: Zanker 1998, pl. 6.

[124] Mau 1904, 89.

[125] So, most recently, Moormann 2011, 73.

There are two possible sources of moisture to consider, rising damp from the ground and penetrating damp through the wall. There are examples of precautions taken against rising damp in several houses in Pompeii, most notably in the House of the Faun. There, nailed lead strips were used in the first instance, which are found under first-style decoration. Presumably this did not work very well, for a different technique was used later; elsewhere in the house, under second-style decoration, were mounted tiles curved at the edges to stand free from the wall.[126] One possibility is that a source of rising damp was discovered along the west wall of the portico after it was built and that the tiles were added later when the decoration of the portico was renewed. It is strange, however, that it was so localized as to affect only the west wall of the portico and not, for example, the western ends of the north and south walls. A more likely explanation, therefore, is fear of penetrating damp. This was the reason that *tegulae mammatae* were employed in the House of Livia in Rome, for example, for walls which face the earth on the other side.[127] They were used to provide a dry surface for decoration on those walls that were dug into the Palatine hill. Clearly, those walls were always going to be moist and the tiling was a sensible precaution.

In the Temple of Apollo, by contrast, there was no immediate source of moisture behind the west wall, so it seems that the builders put this measure in place not because of existing damp but as a precaution. The blind alley was clearly a potential source of trouble: it might fill up with debris that could block its drainage either gradually, or suddenly, as the result of an earthquake. Since the alley was closed on every side, it might fill with water unseen and unnoticed until it was too late and began seeping through the wall. It is not improbable to suggest that this is what happened after the earthquake of AD 62. The taking of such expensive precautions against the possibility of another failure of drainage in the blind alley suggests that the painted stucco that was intended for the west wall was of particular value and importance. The care and foresight taken in this public building for the long-term preservation of the painted plaster on the portico walls suggests that it was something more than an ephemeral feature to be replaced and repainted at the whim of the priests.

Another peculiarity about the relationship of the painting in the portico to the walls behind it is the presence of unpainted, blank spaces in the middle of several panels. We have already seen that there was an empty space where a figural painting should have been in the center of many of the pillar-style panels, on both the east and north walls. Were the painters simply interrupted before they could finish? Normal practice was for the figural paintings to be executed by a more accomplished artist after the rest of the panel had been painted. The largely geometric and repetitive patterns were painted by the less accomplished *parietarii*,

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[126] Adam 1999, p. 219 with fig. 515 and A. De Vos and M. De Vos 1982, 164.
[127] Lugli 1957, vol. 1, 550.

and the *imaginarius* would come afterward to execute the figural centerpieces.[128] Pompeii was a massive building site with repairs from the seismic activity of the previous decade ongoing everywhere, so it is not surprising that we can see several houses where repainting was in progress at the time of the eruption.[129] We therefore have domestic parallels for the state of the portico where the painting of a wall was incomplete, with a missing figural composition at the center.[130] Moreover, according to some authorities, the entire Temple of Apollo was undergoing a major post-earthquake renovation at the time of the eruption. This view may, however, owe something to an earlier tendency to underestimate both the force of the pyroclastic surge that accompanied the eruption of Vesuvius and the extent of salvage operations immediately after the eruption; some scholars now believe that the post-earthquake repairs to the Temple of Apollo had been largely completed.[131] Were the blank spaces simply a sign that the repainting was incomplete? The problem is that we have no other indications that the painting was an on-going job. In the other examples of incompletely painted walls, we tend to see the tools of the trade: scaffolding, lime, gypsum, pigments. That seems not to have been the case here: apart from the missing central panels, the rest of the decoration shows no sign of being incomplete.

As it happens, there are good domestic parallels for finding a blank space where we would expect a figural painting in the middle of an otherwise finished room. The explanation for this phenomenon is that the figural painting had been salvaged from an earlier version of the wall, mounted on wood, and then inserted back into the fresh plaster in the middle of the newly painted wall. When the forces of the volcanic explosion turned the wood into cinders, there was nothing to keep the plaster attached to the wall, and the painting fell away. Here is an excellent account, which is worth quoting at length:[132]

> Il sistema di dipinti figurati su intonaco, incastrati in una cassetta lignea (*picturae excisae … inclusae in ligneis formis*; Vitruvio 2.8.9), eseguiti in bottega e inseriti poi nell'intonaco di una parete, si trova di rado: e venne applicato quasi esclusivamente in caso di restauri, per salvare un quadro «prezioso». (Il procedimento nacque peraltro per ragioni simili, quando cioè i Romani rubarono in Magna Grecia e in Grecia famosi o piacevoli originali, staccandoli dalle pareti, intelaiandoli e riappiccicandoli i muri nei templi di Roma.)

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[128] On the terminology, see Clarke 1991, 57–9 and Bergmann 1995, 101.

[129] See Beard 2009, 120–6.

[130] As, for example, in the Casa del Sacello Iliaco and Casa dei Capitelli Colorati.

[131] See Zanker 1998, 126 and Mau 1904, 80, 82–4. See also the disagreement of De Caro 1986, 17–18, 25, but his evidence of fourth-style painting found underneath the pavement can be explained by the hypothesis developed below of multiple instances of seismic damage and consequently multiple phases of fourth-style redecoration. On the related question of the state of completion of repairs to the Forum, see the overview of Cooley 2003, 31–5.

[132] La Rocca, M. De Vos, and A. De Vos 1976, 63. I am grateful to Felipe Rojas for independently drawing the passage of Vitruvius quoted herein to my attention.

Della decina di esempi attestati a Pompei, si sono conservati solo quelli in cui non s'era fatto uso del supporto ligneo; degli altri non resta che il vuoto dell'incassatura: il legno fondo del telaio, una volta marcio e polverizzato, causò evidentemente la caduta della pittura. A Pompei, sepolta da una pioggia di lapilli e ceneri condotti dal vento, il legno non si è salvato negli strati meno compatti, mentre ad Ercolano, immersa in una colata di fango induritasi poi fino a formare un banco tufaceo, il legno venne incluso e carbonizzato. Qui si sono trovati infatti un telaio di legno contenente un affresco con amorini, e altre tracce di legno carbonizzato in incassature.

The system whereby figurative paintings on plaster are enclosed in a wooden box ("paintings cut out … enclosed in wood containers", Vitruvius 2.8.9), executed in the artist's studio and then placed in the plaster of a wall, is seldom found; it is applied almost exclusively in case of restoration, in order to save a valuable picture. (The procedure arose for similar reasons, when the Romans stole famous or pleasing originals from Magna Graecia or Greece, detaching them from the walls, framing them and attaching them to the walls of temples of Rome.) Of the ten or so attested examples in Pompeii, only those that did not make use of a wooden support have been preserved; of the rest, nothing remains but the empty space where the painting had been mounted. The rotting wooden undersurface of the frame will have turned to dust and caused the painting to fall. At Pompeii, which was buried by a rain of lapilli and ash carried by the wind, wood was not preserved by the less compact layers, while in Herculaneum, which was covered by a mudslide which hardened to form volcanic rock, charred wood was. Here, in fact, were found a wooden frame containing a fresco with cupids and other traces of charred wood used for mounting.

In addition to the passage of Vitruvius cited in the quotation above, which refers to the Roman practice of cutting out Greek painted plaster and mounting it on wood to take back to Rome as war booty, there is another passage in which he seems to recommend a similar practice in more modest domestic contexts. The passage is obscure and possibly corrupt, but it seems to be describing the practice of cutting a figural painting out of an old wall, updating the decoration on the wall, and remounting the plaster with the old painting in the middle:[133]

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[133] Vitruvius 7.3.10. This is my own text and interpretation of a vexed passage. For the last phrase, Rowland gives "have a particularly striking appearance" and Grainger has "furnishes images which seem to stand out from it," both of which make needlessly heavy weather of the last three words. For my interpretation of this phrase, see *TLL*, s.v. "expressio" II.B.1.b. and *OLD* s.v. 2. I have emended to *specularum* the transmitted *speculorum*, which has crept into the text here on account of the reference to the polishing of painted plaster and mirrors in the previous sentence (7.3.9). It is true that plaster could be polished to a very high finish, and indeed Vitruvius has just finished saying that, but "mirror" is impossible to make any sense of in this new context. The origin of the confusion is the obscure metaphor Vitruvius is employing here, which is drawn from Roman board games. *abacus* is the normal word for a wall-panel, but is also used for a playing board; the elevated part of that board where pieces might be kept in reserve was called by military metaphor the *specula*, or "look-out tower": thus *laus Pisonis* 199. By this analogy, Vitruvius designates the structures elevated

> itaque veteribus parietibus nonnulli crustas excidentes pro abacis utuntur,
> ipsaque tectoria abacorum et specularum divisionibus circa se prominentes
> habent expressiones.
>
> Many people cut out the surfaces of old walls and use them as panels, and
> the division of the plasterwork itself into panels and raised structures lends
> it a three-dimensional quality.

The general sense is that sections of painted plaster were cut out of the old wall and reused on a new wall, being mounted so as to stand proud of it. In this way, the illusion of three-dimensionality and multiple textures is enhanced by the actual use of mounted panels. Not actual *pinakes* painted on wood or panels of marble veneer, but re-used plaster, which had been designed to emulate those more expensive items. It is clear that the embedding of artworks into plastered walls was an extremely common Roman practice.[134] An instance of this practice recorded by Pliny is particularly interesting for us, as it pertains to the decoration of a temple. He records information from Varro that when the Temple of Ceres on the Aventine was rebuilt, the original paintings executed by the artists Damophilus and Gorgasus were cut from the walls, mounted in frames and displayed in the new temple.[135] This is precisely what the people of Pompeii did when they redecorated parts of the portico of Apollo, and it shows the value they placed on the original Trojan paintings.

In fact, we can be sure that there was one place in the sanctuary complex where a section of old plaster with a figural painting was mounted on top of a decorated wall in this manner. As we noted in passing in the last chapter, this was done for the painting of Bacchus and Silenus in the so-called priests' apartment that was entered through a door in the north wall of the portico. The reason it survived is that metal hardware and cement rather than wood were used to re-mount the old plaster. If old figural paintings were reused in the private apartment off the portico, it may also have been the practice in the portico itself. Here is Gandy's description of the mounting of that painting, which was almost certainly copied verbatim from Gell's letters:[136]

> This fresco had been anciently removed from another situation to that it
> now occupies, and is fastened very neatly with iron cramps and cement, so
> as to require some examination to discover the circumstance.

This fact is confirmed by Mazois, though once again the text was written by someone who was not on the spot; presumably his posthumous editors based this on his notes:[137]

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above the level of the *abaci* on the wall as *speculae*. In any case, it is clear that he is referring to the practice of cutting out and remounting old painted plaster when redecorating.

[134] See the evidence cited by Bergmann 1995, 100.

[135] *NH* 35.154: "ex hac, cum reficeretur, crustas parietum excisas tabulis marginatis inclusas esse."

[136] Gell and Gandy 1817–1819, 216.

[137] Mazois 1812–38, vol. 4, p. 39.

> Ce tableau avait déjà été détaché d'une autre muraille et rattaché en cet endroit par des crampons habilement cachés. En général, les peintures murales étaient isolées du mur et préservées de l'humidité au moyen de carreaux de terre cuite qui laissent subsister des vides où l'air pouvait circuler.
>
> This tablet had already been removed from another wall and reattached in this place by cleverly hidden spikes. In general, the wall paintings were isolated from the wall and protected from moisture by means of terracotta tiles that left gaps where air could circulate.

The reference to the "general" practice presumably refers to the *tegulae mammatae* on the west wall and not to the other figural paintings in the portico. We have been presuming that the surviving Trojan paintings in the portico, unlike the picture of Bacchus, were painted in plaster applied to the wall itself. But is that right? Were any of the surviving Trojan pictures separately mounted?

Raoul-Rochette, writing in 1840, strongly implies that all or some of the surviving Trojan paintings were mounted separately on the wall.[138] It is useful to have confirmation from him that there were indeed blank spaces instead of figural paintings in the portico; he had first visited the temple in the mid-1820s when there was still a fair bit of plaster on the walls. He had returned to visit it again in 1838, but by then the paintings in the portico were badly decayed.[139] Nevertheless, he is in a good position to confirm that Mazois' posthumous editors were correct in stating that the lithograph they published with the blank space in the center was an accurate representation rather than the result of some accident of drawing. Other aspects of Rochette's account need to be taken with a grain of salt, however. He was engaged in a polemic regarding the use of panel paintings on wood in ancient temples and has a motive to exaggerate. He claims that the blank spaces had been filled with panel paintings on wood which had perished in the eruption of Vesuvius, and that the surviving paintings on plaster were shoddy and temporary stand-ins for the paintings on wood that should have been there. This is not a very convincing view, and it is clearly in his interest to insinuate that all of the Trojan paintings on plaster were mounted separately as makeshift substitutes. When he does produce specific examples, he refers to Gell and Gandy's published discussion of the painting of Bacchus and Silenus and to Mazois' illustration of the panel with the blank space at its center. It is odd that he does not give more specific information about the mounting of the Trojan paintings if he had it. He also cites with approval the published claim by Rudolf Wiegmann, who had been in Pompeii around 1830, that "several" paintings in the Temple of Apollo were separately mounted.[140] But once again the presence of the *tegulae mammatae* on the west wall could be responsible for that claim. The implication that all or some of the surviving Trojan paintings were separately mounted is almost certainly untrue, for

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[138] Raoul-Rochette 1840, 195–8.
[139] Raoul-Rochette 1840, 197, n. 1.
[140] Wiegmann 1836, 81.

later elevations of the east wall that show the painting in the portico in an advanced state of decay do not show any discontinuities in the line of plaster breakage at the borders of the figural paintings in the southernmost two niches.[141] If there was a Trojan painting with an identifiable subject that was mounted separately, it seems likely that one of our sources would have mentioned the fact.

To conclude, we know from Callet's elevation that there were a number of missing figural paintings on the east wall, and from the evidence of Mazois' chromolithograph and the cork model that there were missing figural paintings on the north wall. The question that remains is whether those blank spaces were present before the eruption of Vesuvius or were the result of the eruption. If the former, then in AD 79 the people of Pompeii were waiting for some, but not all, Trojan paintings to be filled in. These would be replacements for those damaged in the seismic activity of the preceding years. If the latter, then the original Trojan paintings were salvaged where possible and mounted on wood for re-use. During the eruption, the wood decayed and the old plaster fell out. Of course, these two possibilities are not mutually exclusive. It is quite likely that plaster was salvaged and remounted where possible and, where the original figural paintings were too badly damaged to be saved, new copies were commissioned. Both explanations for the blank spaces both lead to the same conclusion: that the fourth-style decoration preserved, either through re-use of old plaster or through newly executed copies, an earlier cycle of figural paintings. This explains how a cycle of figural paintings which seem, ideologically, to be linked to the Augustan age came to be embedded in the middle of a decorative scheme executed many decades later. The most important conclusion to draw from the testimony of the blank spaces, therefore, is that the decorative, architectural scheme does not give us a date for the figural compositions within. In the next section, we will look at the chronological question more closely. A secondary conclusion to draw from the existence of the empty frames is that the original Trojan paintings were valued enough to be carefully preserved where possible.

Dating the Paintings

As noted above, the decorative elements in the wall paintings in the portico are routinely ascribed to the fourth Pompeian style, and thus to a period significantly later than Augustus. It would clearly be helpful if we could determine an exact date for the central figural tableaux on stylistic grounds. Unfortunately, such a procedure is unlikely to produce any consensus. The success of the categorization of Pompeian paintings into four distinct styles has prompted efforts to further subdivide them into sub-phases, but these have commanded less general assent.

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[141] See Veneri's drawing of 1843 (Baldassarre et al. 1995, 800–1, fig. 29a), which has a careful delineation of the breakage, and still later Chabrol's drawing of 1866 (Mascoli 1981, fig. 18).

The fourth style has proved particularly resistant to efforts at chronological sub-division, and old ideas about the differences between pre- and post-earthquake painting are no longer given the same credence.[142] Objective dates are few, and opinion regarding the start and end dates of the four styles varies alarmingly.

The basis for the common assertion that the paintings in the portico were of the fourth style must surely be the pillar-style panels, such as the ones illustrated in color lithographs by Mazois (fig. 35) and Raoul-Rochette (fig. 5).[143] The problem here is that the distinction between pillar- and niche-style decoration in the portico has not generally been recognized. Are they both fourth style? The pillar-style is an example of a motif that can clearly and unambiguously be identified as fourth style. The gaudy exuberance of the three-dimensional architecture along with its delicate insubstantiality make it a textbook example. Many paintings in Pompeii are not textbook examples of one of the four styles, however. In these cases, the certainty with which specialists assign these paintings to one style or the other can seem capricious, resting on the arbitrary privileging of one particular detail over another. The niche-style is an example of a decorative motif which is less obviously marked by the hallmarks of a particular style. It treats the surface of the wall as mostly two dimensional, and many aspects of its decoration are fairly generic. There is, however, one element which may only appear in the niche-style panels on the east wall that might identify it as also belonging to the fourth style. In Callet's elevation there seems to be trompe-l'œil architecture at the sides which might well be an example of fourth-style *Durchblicke*, narrow perspectival openings between the main fields.[144] Moreover, these openings seem, in Callet's elevation at any rate, to have some stylistic similarity to the architecture in the pillar-style. The way the two styles alternate on pillars and in niches on the east wall suggests an organic conception of the whole. So we may assume that both pillar- and niche-style, at least in the forms in which they are found on the east wall, are contemporary.

The strict alternation of motifs and the stylistic unity of the east wall would lead us to believe that the portico was redecorated in the fourth style at one point in time. But the cork model, which shows the other walls as well, paints a more complex picture. Both the pillar-style and the niche-style appear there in different versions than on the east wall, and they do not alternate strictly. As noted earlier, the pillar-style has a very different color scheme on the north wall, which explains the difference between Mazois' view of it and Raoul-Rochette's. The niche-style is also quite different on the north and south walls as compared to the east. The cork model just shows a large red frame surrounding a white field in which the figural painting is centered. Below that is the usual deep-red lower register. There is none of the elaborate flanking with trompe-l'œil elements here. The red frame is simply

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[142] Clarke 1991, 31, 65.

[143] See, for example, Moormann 2011, 73–5

[144] See figs. 11, 17 and 10. On the alternation of *Vorhänge* and *Durchblicke* as a feature of the fourth style, see Ling 1991, 71–82.

bordered by thin columns. It is true that the cork model represents far less detail than Callet's elevation of the east wall, but the difference between the regularity of the east wall and the absence of a principle of alternation on the north and south wall is readily apparent. The fourth-style *Durchblicke* in the niche-style on the east wall may be simplified on the cork model, but they are still present (fig. 10). They are certainly absent on the north wall (fig. 48) and the situation with the south wall is ambiguous (figs. 64).

The most significant difference between the east wall and the north and south is the failure to alternate the two styles. Just west of the middle of the north wall are two simplified niche-style panels side by side (fig. 48; number 25–6 on Fig. 9), and at the far west of the north wall the last two panels are likewise simplified niche-style (fig. 49; numbers 28–9 on Fig. 9). On the east side of the south wall, there appears to be room for four generously spaced panels, and there are certainly niche-style panels at both ends; this implies a failure to observe alternation here, too (fig. 64; numbers 36–8 on Fig. 9). One of the two panels in between also appears to be niche-style, so once again we have two simplified niche-style panels next to each other. So the theory we were working with in the previous chapters, that the alternation in the fabric of the east wall inspired the alternation of styles, which was then continued on the other walls, requires modification. On the other hand, both the east wall and, from the little we know about it, the west wall observed a strict alternation of niche-stlye and pillar-style panels. On the other hand, the north and south walls were composed mainly of a very simplified form of the niche-style panels, with the occasional appearance of a pillar-style panel.

If we are to take seriously the presence of simplified niche-style panels side by side on the north and south walls, one explanation presents itself. These are places where we can see the original Augustan decoration of the portico, which once carried all the way around the four walls. The occasional appearance of the blue-tinted variant of the pillar-style marks places where seismic activity required repairs to the north and possibly the south walls, which were done in the fourth style that was then current. At some other point, possibly due to a second seismic event, the east and possibly west walls required more extensive repainting. The undulating nature of the east wall together with the way the north wall already intermingled the very plain Augustan panels with the newer pillar-style panels suggested to the designers a scheme for the east wall combining variants on these two elements. The Augustan scheme was updated to a similar but more ornate version and these were put in the niches of the east wall. For the pillars, the modern design of the newer panels on the north wall was kept, but was adapted to a color scheme that better complemented the niches.

Can the simpler variant of the niche-style as found on the north and south walls be considered of Augustan date on stylistic grounds? In fact, the second style, which overlapped with the reign of Augustus, is often very difficult to distinguish from the fourth style, which is many ways was a revival of it. For example, a typical

feature of Augustan art in the aftermath of the conquest of Egypt is a fascination with Nilotic scenes and this is something we have identified as forming a part of the niche-style in both its simplified and ornate forms. But Nilotic scenes and landscapes with architecture also fit quite well into the fourth style.[145] So it could be a part of the Augustan original or the fourth-style revival or both. In fact, this simplified variant of the niche-style is so plain and utterly lacking in distinguishing features that it may be impossible to date; perhaps if we had a more detailed rendering than what the cork model gives us we might do better, but then again perhaps not. But that very simplicity fits better with an early date, before the *pinacotheca*, or "picture-gallery" motif had become so elaborate and developed. We may imagine a series of figural paintings on a plain white ground, surrounded by large, unadorned red frames, sitting on a modestly decorated lower register, perhaps with a Nilotic or architectural frieze, each large frame flanked by a pair of columns. That seems like a conception more at home in the Augustan period than in the fourth style, even in its more restrained moments.

There are several advantages of postulating two phases of redecoration in the portico. It helps to explain why the east wall is so regular while the north and south walls are not; and it explains why both design elements of the east wall are found on the north wall but in variant forms. It also explains the paradox observed by De Caro that Maiuri discovered fragments of fourth-style plaster under the repaired pavement of the portico.[146] If there was only one seismic event and this led to the repainting of the walls and the repair of the pavement, the plaster under the repairs should have been pre-fourth style. But if there were two phases of repair and redecoration, this finding is as expected. It is natural to expect that the major earthquake of AD 62 was accompanied by other seismic events. We hear, for example, that two years later an earthquake destroyed the theater in Naples just after Nero had performed there (Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.34). It would not be surprising to find that the second shock mainly damaged the east and west while leaving the previously repaired north wall relatively unscathed. In an earthquake, walls parallel to the direction of the motion of the earth undergo shearing forces very different to the back-and-forth motion of walls perpendicular to it. The former tends to produce large x-shaped diagonal fissures, which could remove most of the plaster from those walls; the latter may produce only minor cracks.

A probable indication of the effects of one of these tremors may be seen in the external wall on the north side of the portico. In general, the walls of the sanctuary are of *opus incertum*, stone rubble bonded with mortar. But there is a section in the middle of the north wall where there appears to be an ancient repair in a different fabric (fig. 72). From top to bottom there is a stretch of *opus vittatum mixtum* in

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[145] Rostovtzeff 1911, 57–8, 73, 81–2 automatically discusses the Nilotic and architectural landscapes from the portico as reproduced by Gell and Gandy under the heading of the fourth style, as does M. De Vos 1980, 87 for the copy by Morelli (fig. 57).

[146] De Caro 1986, 17–18

Figure 72: Post-earthquake repairs to the north wall of the Sanctuary of Apollo; author's photograph.

which two courses of brick alternate with a single course of stone, which is typical of repairs after the earthquake of AD 62.[147] The left side of the repaired patch is approximately at the mid-point of the rear of the temple cella. This permits us to match it approximately with paintings on the cork model. There, the middle of the cella stands approximately opposite a point on the north wall at the boundary between a blue-hued pillar-style panel on the east (number 24 on Fig. 9) and what we have guessed to be a stretch of the original Augustan decor on the west (number 25 on Fig. 9). So it seems that one phase of the repair involved rebuilding the middle part of the north wall and putting a blue-hued pillar-style panel on top of the repaired section of the wall.[148]

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[147] See Richardson, Jr. 1988, 379–81 ("nowhere that it [opus vittatum mixtum] occurs does it appear to be pre-earthquake"), with Adam 2007, 108 and Dobbins 1994, 637. There was bomb damage to the north-east corner of the portico in 1943, but it probably did not extend as far west as this.

[148] See Sampaolo in Baldassarre et al. 1990–9, vol. 7, 290, n. 6 for further difficulties entailed by

On the basis of these arguments, we can postulate a hypothetical sequence of events which would accommodate all of the evidence. The first tremor, possibly the earthquake of AD 62, damaged the middle of the north wall so badly that it needed to be rebuilt. On that stretch of wall and in other places around the portico where the plaster had been badly damaged, the Augustan painting was replaced by panels more in keeping with current taste: the blue variant of the pillar-style. The result was a mixture of the old painting with a few new sections distributed here and there. Then another tremor shook the complex and did further damage, particularly to the plaster on the east and west walls. It was decided that these needed to be repainted in their entirety. As a result of the first earthquake, the drainage that had originally been put in place for the blind alley behind the west wall had failed, and in the period between the first and second tremor it had occasionally filled with water, which had penetrated to the other face of the west wall, wetting and damaging the painted plaster. Since the west wall needed to be repainted, it was decided to put a course of *tegulae mammatae* in place to protect it from the same fate in future. The east wall may originally have had a fairly uniform decorative scheme, but the fact that the portico now had two contrasting styles of painting suggested that the pillars and niches on the east wall would naturally accommodate contrasting motifs. For the niches, the original, very plain Augustan decor was updated to the more modern niche-style; for the pillars, the recently adopted pillar-style was still current enough to use, though in a slightly different color. As part of the second refurbishment, a new pavement in the portico was laid in *cocciopesto*, underneath which were buried fragments of painted plaster, including fourth-style painting that had been added in the first refurbishment but was damaged in the second tremor.

The blank spaces are the remaining piece of evidence that needs to be explained, and, as noted in the previous section, there are two possibilities, which are not mutually exclusive. The first explanation is that the figural paintings were left blank because no local *pictor imaginarius* had the required composition in his repertoire and good local copies of these particular paintings were not available. If so, the wait to fill in some of the blanks was considerable, because blank spaces appear not only in the second phase of redecoration on the east wall, but also in the first phase, on the north. Why would those responsible for the repairs have waited that long? Perhaps they were hoping to avoid the expense of having to bring an *imaginarius* from Rome or to send a local one there on a research trip. The original Augustan paintings may well have been executed by workers who had previously flocked to Rome to take part in the massive spurt of construction projects after Actium. They would have been familiar with the contents of the Portico of Philippus for the simple reason that they might have been involved in building and decorating it and related monuments. After a space of 60 years or more, meeting with a

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supposing a single seismic event and a single redecoration.

painter who had first-hand knowledge of that particular model would have been considerably less likely. Some painters may have had a repertoire that included the more iconic images, such as, let us say, the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon, but it could well have been harder to replace the more obscure Iliadic episodes. The second, simpler explanation is that efforts were made to salvage the original figural paintings during both phases of redecoration, and that these were mounted on wood and embedded in the newly decorated walls. When the wood decayed, the old plaster fell out.

This version of the development of the portico tries to account for all of the evidence. Whatever the details of that process may have been, it is worth reiterating the most important conclusion: the presence of fourth-style decoration does not mean that the Trojan cycle was post-Augustan. If the Trojan theme had been added later, at a point when the portico was being comprehensively redecorated from scratch, we would expect the whole building to be as uniform as the east wall; but the cork model shows that this was not the case, no matter how one reconstructs the details of the repairs and repainting. The diversity of decorative styles on the north and south walls suggests very strongly that the Trojan theme was not introduced suddenly and uniformly in the years just before the eruption.

It is sometimes assumed on the basis of domestic interiors that Roman wall painting on plaster was a thing of little value, to be replaced on a whim. But we should be wary of extrapolating from domestic contexts to the decisions that were made about one of the most important public spaces in the city. The priests might well have had a fairly free hand to replace in a new style the purely decorative elements that needed repair. But it is a very different thing to change the ideologically loaded figural elements. To create a hodge-podge by replacing at random the missing parts of a coherent and unified cycle would have invited ridicule. The figural painting on plaster that featured in the portico may have been a cheap imitation of "real" panel paintings executed on wood , but that did not mean they were unimportant to the people of Pompeii. Even with Augustus gone, this building continued to play an important part in the town's conceptualization of itself as Roman; it articulated imperial ideology and Pompeii's participation in that ideology. We should not be surprised to find a very conservative approach in the post-earthquake repair and redecoration.

There is an unfortunate tendency on the part of some scholars to reify the four painting styles of Mau (which is to say, of Vitruvius) as if they actually existed as phenomena in and of themselves rather than being an occasionally useful heuristic tool.[149] One of the dangers of that approach is to focus too much on those particular decorative details that seem to be diagnostic for the purposes of dating. Hence the confident assertion by all scholars who have dealt with the paintings

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[149] On the contemporary reaction against the sterile obsession with linear chronology see Bergmann 2001.

on the portico of Apollo that they are fourth-style, without any caveats or qualifi-
cations. In reality, we seem to have an example of post-earthquake repairs which
preserved in some places plaster of an earlier decorative style, and which moreover
seems to have deliberately recreated that earlier style as an element in the new de-
sign, playing consciously upon the contrast. The view that as time went by one
decorative style straightforwardly replaced another throughout Pompeii is clearly
too simplistic. The situation is even more complex when it comes to figural paint-
ing. The four styles are based on the classification of decorative elements, but this
has not prevented some scholars from attempting to date figural painting in Pom-
peii on stylistic grounds. We have seen here, however, an extensive example of the
Vitruvian practice of preserving earlier figural compositions for re-insertion in an
updated decorative frame, and possibly also the commissioning of replacements
for damaged figural works. If these images were based in some respect on Theorus'
cycle in Rome, that Augustan installation would still have existed in the Flavian
period and would have continued to exert its influence. The practice of building
up a chronology of figural styles on the basis of decorative context is therefore
of dubious legitimacy. There is in fact no good reason to believe that fashions in
figural painting changed hand-in-hand with changes in decorative schemes, and
the subjective and inconsistent results produced by efforts to date figural painting
on stylistic grounds should be no surprise.[150] For the benefit of those who persist,
despite these dangers, in asserting a strong chronology for the figural elements in
Roman wall painting, we can provide early Augustan parallels for the portico of
Apollo in the large figural compositions in late second/early third style, such as the
Theseus panels at the Villa Imperiale in Pompeii or in Rome at the Casa di Livia
or the Villa della Farnesina.[151]

The term *pinacotheca* or "picture gallery" is routinely used to designate the very
common feature in Pompeian domestic painting whereby a set of figural paintings
forms the centerpieces of a room. Thus the term has come to mean a fictive picture
gallery, and the assumption has been that they are doubly fake, a pretend collec-
tion of faked copies of works that were themselves illusory views of reality.[152]
The Apollo portico should help us to break down the false conceptual distinc-
tion between "real" high-status picture-galleries and their humble Pompeian imi-
tations.[153] Here we have one of the most important and prominent public spaces
in the town combining aspects of the real and the fictive *pinacotheca* in one unit.
When a painting on plaster was cut out of the wall, preserved, and remounted in
the newly plastered wall, was it suddenly transformed from a "fake" plaster imita-
tion in a "fake" provincial *pinacotheca* into a highly valued "real" piece of local art

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[150] For a humorous view of the wildly inconsistent results of Schefold's "connoisseurship" as ap-
plied to these Iliadic paintings, see Moormann 2011, 80, n. 113.

[151] I owe this point to an anonymous reader for the Press.

[152] See Leach 1982 and Leach 2004, 132–55.

[153] On the tension, see Bergmann 1995, 99–102.

installed in a "real" local art gallery? The value placed by the people of Pompeii on this cycle is shown by the way they attempted to conserve and repair it, instead of wiping it clean at one sweep and replacing it with something new. This attitude of conservation shows us how something that began its life as a simulacrum can develop its own worth in its particular context. Indeed, in the years after the construction of the portico around 10 BC, its resonance will have increased through the canonization of Virgil's *Aeneid* as the Roman national epic. We will discuss the relationship between the Pompeian paintings and Virgil in a later chapter, but we can say that an ancient viewer contemplating the pictures in the Apollo-portico could have seen it not only as an ersatz imitation of a "real" portico in Rome, but also as a "real" version of an imaginary portico from the *Aeneid*.

Pompeii and Rome

We have accumulated a series of circumstantial indications that the decoration of the Apollo portico dates to the Augustan period and reflects the ideology of that time. We have seen how the emulation of Augustan models was the theme of the career of one of its builders. Its sculptural program reflected Augustan ideology, and its pictorial cycle was integrated with the statue of Apollo the Archer through the gesture of Calchas. The successive phases of post-earthquake restorations radically changed the overall appearance of the portico walls, but the Trojan theme of the Augustan monument was carefully maintained. In the next chapter we will discuss the probable model for the Pompeian portico: the Portico of Philippus in Rome, which had been constructed two decades previously and which displayed a cycle of paintings of the Trojan War. But what evidence do we have that Holconius Rufus and the people of Pompeii chose to emulate the particular content of the paintings in Rome rather than just the idea of a Trojan cycle? At this point we must return to the three *tabulae Iliacae* which we have repeatedly seen to contain some very precise duplicates of the arrangement of figures in the portico paintings. All of the tablets were found in the suburbs of Rome, so if they had a common model, it must have been in the capital city.

There are, of course, important differences between the two sets of objects. The tablets are reliefs rather than paintings; they are miniatures, while the paintings are on a large scale; the tablets include many more Iliadic scenes than the paintings and differ among themselves. The tablets themselves are extremely complex objects, with riddling word games on the back. There has always been debate about their nature and purpose, with opinion varying very widely. There has been a recent resurgence of scholarly interest in these fascinating objects, but there is no need for us to be drawn away from our own topic into the details of these debates.[154]

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[154] For some recent work see Squire 2011, Petrain forthcoming, Squire 2009, 135–9, Kazansky 1997, Salimbene 2002 and Valenzuela Montenegro 2004.

All we need to establish is that the tablets were complex objects created near Rome in the period after the construction of the Portico of Philippus, and hence that it is plausible that they would have been influenced, in part, by the cycle of Trojan images there.[155] This is not to deny that there were other important sources for the iconography of the *tabulae Iliacae*, but it is plausible to expect that a major public Roman monument of the Augustan period might have had an influence on expressions of the same theme made around the same place and time.[156]

All of the ancient Homeric cycles, including the *tabulae Iliacae* and the other Pompeian Iliadic cycles excavated by Spinazzola, are too heterogeneous to be reduced to a single typology inspired by some Hellenistic Greek model, such as an illustrated text of Homer or a pattern-book.[157] Amid those differences, however, there are some striking similarities. A direct line connects the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon on the Capitoline tablet to the Pompeian portico and thence to the Houses of the Dioscuri and of the Tragic Poet. These are clearly and unmistakably depictions of the same composition. Amid the many influences that the *tabulae Iliacae* may have had, there must be one that can explain this connection.[158] There is no guarantee that it was the Portico of Philippus, but it is the best available possibility. Despite their difference in media and scale, the tablets link two very similarly conceived large-scale painting cycles in temple porticoes in Rome and Pompeii. This would not be the only place where the influence of a large-scale work of art from a major Augustan monument has been postulated for the Capitoline tablet. At its center is a depiction of Aeneas carrying his lame father upon his shoulder and leading his son by the hand as they escape from Troy. Visually, this seems a clear quotation of the famous sculptural group of these same figures from the Forum of Augustus.[159] If the tablet could quote in miniature form a large-scale sculptural group from a major metropolitan monument, it follows that, among many other influences, it could also have quoted the large-scale paintings from another monument. Indeed, this seems the likeliest explanation for the remarkable similarities between the compositions on the tablets and in Pompeian paintings. The prominence of Aeneas in the both the Pompeian portico and the *tabulae Iliacae* could be explained as a reflection of the Roman cycle of paintings, or as the influence of the first book of the *Aeneid*, or, most likely, as both. Finally, another feature of the *tabulae* is that the Trojan temples it shows are Roman in

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[155] Almost all of the tablets were found very near the city of Rome: Salimbene 2002, 27.

[156] This was once an uncontroversial assertion. Lippold (*RE* s.v. "Tabula Iliaca", 1895.1–33), building upon the fundamental work of Brüning 1894 in connecting the tablets with the Pompeian portico, emphasizes the role of the Portico of Philippus as a likely intermediary.

[157] See Horsfall 1979.

[158] The old thesis of Weitzmann 1959 that the tablets were closely based on a conveniently lost tradition of illuminated texts of Homer has rightly fallen from favor; on the iconographic eclecticism of the tablets, see Squire 2011, 129–48.

[159] See Valenzuela Montenegro 2004, 306 and Squire 2011, 59, 148–58.

form.[160] The feature which dominates the depiction of Troy at the center of the Capitoline tablet is a series of very Roman-looking temple porticoes.[161] Was this a visual reminder of the Portico of Philippus, as the location of the Trojan cycle of paintings which was one of the main inspirations for the iconography of the scenes on the tablet? We will turn to the architecture and ideological significance of that building in the next chapter.

Conclusions

We have seen that the urge to relate all similarities between Roman works of art to remote and hypothetical Greek models has blinded scholars for generations to the very lively and clear dynamics of copying within Pompeii and between Pompeii and Rome. It has also obscured the fact that the Trojan cycle in the Apollo portico was one of the most important works of public art in the town and was certainly the most influential work of painting. On the other hand, the contemporary tendency to look away entirely from these close relationships between image and image or image and text has impoverished the local meaning of these objects, by removing their capacity to function intertextually. The danger is that our investigation will fall into that same trap in the next chapter, as it moves from Pompeii to Rome, from a fragmentary Trojan cycle to one which has disappeared entirely. It would be to make an equally grave type of mistake to assume that, since the Pompeian cycle was based on the Roman one, it can stand in for it. But the Pompeian cycle was certainly a reinterpretation, and we must allow for the likelihood that many changes were introduced in that process of adaptation. Then there was the process of post-earthquake remodeling, which, although motivated by an impulse of conservation, will have introduced more changes. Nevertheless, the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii can at least afford us some idea of what the paintings in the Portico of Philippus looked like.

Before we move to Rome, however, we should pause to consider the message the people of Pompeii meant to send by their version of the Trojan portico. On a basic level, they were echoing the Roman connection with Troy that had become such a major part of Augustan ideology. But they were also doing something more sophisticated than merely parroting a party line. Where this appears most clearly is that aspect of the adaptation which stands in starkest contrast to the Roman model. The Portico of Philippus surrounded the Temple of Hercules of the Muses in Rome, whereas the Trojan cycle in Pompeii was housed in a sanctuary of Apollo. This shift signaled a clear recognition on the part of the people of Pompeii of the complexities of the function of the Roman monument in Augustus' building program, which will be demonstrated in the next chapter. As we will see,

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[160] Sadurska 1964, 35–6.
[161] Leach 1988, 82 compares the Portico of Octavia.

the renovation of Rome's *de facto* Temple of the Muses was a project that needs to be understood alongside the construction of the Temple of Palatine Apollo and its library: considered together they were a nod to the Museum and Library of Alexandria. We will discuss in the next chapter the reasons why Augustus split these into separate projects, but by uniting the Trojan cycle with Apollo the Pompeians were simply combining two Roman monuments that were already understood to be two aspects of a unified program. The combination in the Pompeian portico of elements of buildings erected in the capital by the emperor himself (the Temple of Palatine Apollo) and a close member of his family (the Portico of Philippus) is precisely paralleled in the building of Eumachia (the Forum of Augustus and the Portico of Livia).

The particularly local point that the new portico made was to emphasize Apollo's long-standing association with Pompeii. In Rome, Apollo was long seen as a somewhat foreign and Greek god, and he did not have a temple within the *pomerium*, the sacred boundary of the city. Augustus' adoption of Apollo as his patron and his building of the sumptuous temple on the Palatine changed all that, however. In Pompeii, the situation was quite the opposite. The Sanctuary of Apollo was the oldest in the town and was located right in its heart, next to the Forum. By renovating that temple and providing it with a new portico in the Augustan period, the town was advertising the long-standing nature of their connection with the patron god of the emperor. The addition of an element drawn from the Portico of Philippus rather than the Temple of Palatine Apollo was an invitation to compare the situations at Rome and in Pompeii in the second century BC. In Rome, Fulvius Nobilior was compelled to house his Muses anomalously in a temple of Hercules, because Apollo, to whom they normally belonged, was still too much of a marginal presence. In Pompeii, by contrast, the town was in that same period building its more important shrine to that god and decorating it with a pediment and frieze that featured Apollo and the Muses.[162]

The association of the Trojan cycle with Apollo invites us to consider the fact that the equivalent portico in Rome embraced the odd couple of Hercules and the Muses. This not only highlights the much deeper and older integration of Apollo into the religious life of Pompeii, but also casts him as a contrasting figure to Hercules. This is an opposition that resonated with the ideology of the recent civil war between Octavian and Mark Antony. The two sides fought under the banners of Apollo and Hercules respectively, and this opposition may even have been exploited in the iconography of the Temple of Palatine Apollo.[163] The civil war was long over, but it may be relevant that the neighboring rival town of Herculaneum

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[162] De Caro 2007, 76 with further pictures in Menotti de Lucia 1990.

[163] See Zanker 1988, 33–77 with the reservations of Hekster 2004a, which do not, however, nullify the thesis. For an ideological interpretation of the terracotta plaques showing the contest between Apollo and Hercules for Delphi, which may have come from the Temple of Palatine Apollo, see Kellum 1985.

loudly boasted of its founding by Hercules by means of cycles of paintings of his exploits in the main public monuments of the town, especially the college of the Augustales and the Basilica, both so-called.[164] Wallace-Hadrill has argued recently that these buildings constituted the civic center of Herculaneum, which is to say the counterpart of the Forum area in Pompeii.[165] If that is right, then the Trojan cycle in Pompeii may be seen as a pointed riposte to the Hercules cycles from the public buildings in Herculaneum. The people of Pompeii may have seen it as opportune not only to emphasize their association with Apollo, who occupied the place which elsewhere in the region was held by Antony's erstwhile patron, Hercules. This speaks of an acute understanding on the part of the people of Pompeii of the ideological connections between multiple Augustan monuments and indeed the historical background in Rome that conditioned the particular nature of Augustus' building program. It is to the role of the Portico of Philippus in that program that we turn to in the next chapter.

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[164] Thompson 1961, 58 compares the cycle of paintings of Theseus in the Theseion in Athens.

[165] Wallace-Hadrill 2011a, 177–96 and Wallace-Hadrill 2011b.
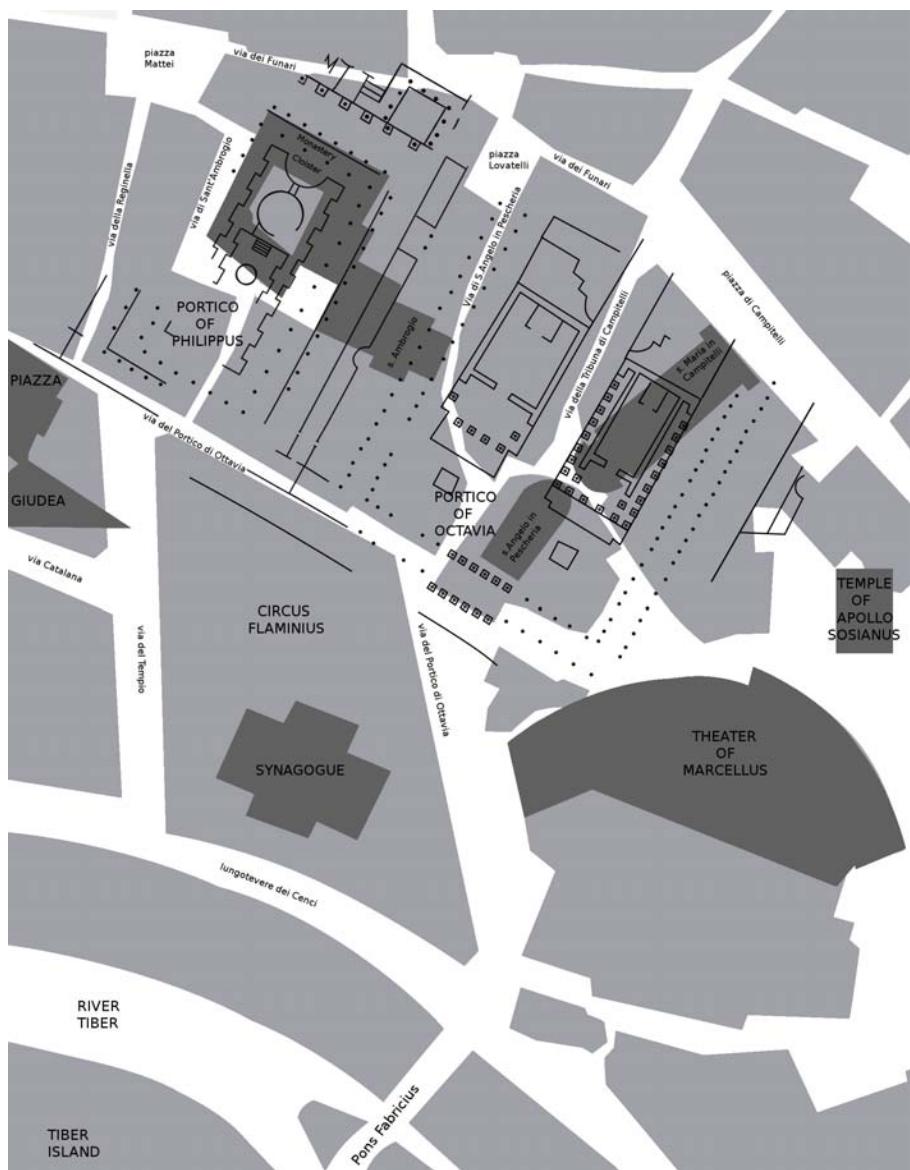
Figure 73: The Portico of Philippus and its environs: the Marble Plan and the modern street grid, aligned with reference to the visible remains of the Portico of Octavia. The dark grey area within the Portico of Philippus indicates the extent of the church and monastery of Sant'Ambrogio della Massima.

Chapter 5

Rome: The Portico of Philippus

We move now to Rome, to look at the Porticus Philippi, the model for the building activity we have discussed in Pompeii. Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence at all to confirm what the cycle of Trojan paintings that hung there looked like, or what particular episodes were represented. All we know is the name of the artist: Pliny the Elder tells us that a man named Theorus painted "the Trojan war in many paintings, which is at Rome in the Portico of Philippus."[1] Our only clues for the appearance of that cycle comes from the putative imitation in Pompeii. We can, however, discover quite a but about the purpose of the structure, its role in Augustus' building program, and its architecture.

As we saw, the motivation of Holconius Rufus and his fellow citizens for building their new portico around the Temple of Apollo was to adapt elements of Augustan ideology into their local context. In a way, the Porticus Philippi itself was in turn an evocation of another city's ideology, likewise adapted in the light of local considerations. In the early years of Octavian's rule, the newly conquered city of Alexandria was still the greatest city of the Mediterranean. At its center was the monumental complex of the royal quarter, where the Ptolemies lived, and where the Museum with its Library was also apparently located.[2] After his return from Alexandria, Augustus gave Rome its equivalent, but with careful regard to Roman sensibilities. He took the model of Alexandria, exploded it, and landed various of its aspects in various parts of Rome: libraries, temple of Muses, art galleries, royal residence, monumental architecture. It is only when one pieces together the disparate elements of the various building projects that their debt to Alexandria comes into view.

There were rumors that Augustus' adoptive father, Julius Caesar, had planned to build a great public library to rival Alexandria's.[3] Unlike Caesar, Augustus was

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[1] bellumque Iliacum pluribus tabulis, quod est Romae in Philippi porticibus: Pliny, *NH* 35.144.

[2] See Strabo (17.1.8), who does not explicitly mention the library; but there is no good reason to suppose that it was not part of the Museum: Canfora 1990, 137-44. Recent underwater explorations have added to our meager knowledge of Alexandria's topography, but Strabo is still our best guide to the appearance of the city in Augustus' day.

[3] Suet. *Jul.* 44.2.

careful never to appear to set himself up as an autocrat like the Ptolemies. This ne-
cessitated a series of changes to the Alexandrian model. In Egypt, the royal quarter
encompassed the magnificent dwelling of the rulers and the Museum, which was
an expression of the success of transplanting Greek culture into Egypt. This was
articulated not only in the scholarly activities of those who worked there, but also
more explicitly in the scintillating panegyric poetry written there to celebrate the
rulers of Hellenistic Egypt. To facilitate that work, and also to provide a concrete
expression of the presence of the best of Greek culture in Egypt, the Greek li-
brary was created. Elsewhere in the city an Egyptian library played the same role
with respect to indigenous culture. The Ptolemies basked in the reflected glory of
the monumental architecture, the great literature and scholarship produced at the
Museum, and the cultural wealth represented by both libraries. At Pergamum, too,
the great library was on the acropolis, adjacent to the royal palace and the Temple
of Athena.[4]

All of this Augustus wanted for Rome, but as always he proceeded by stealth
and misdirection. The main focus of his building program around Actium was
the Temple of Palatine Apollo, which was simultaneously an evocation of a Hel-
lenistic royal palace or royal quarter and an emphatic rejection of that model.[5]
It was built in what was then largely a residential neighborhood, near the mod-
est house in which Augustus already lived. The size, expense and beauty of the
temple highlighted the ostentatious simplicity in which the *princeps* made a point
of living. This massive project included a major Greek and Latin library, just as
the Ptolemies had built both Greek and Egyptian libraries.[6] It was not, however,
a Museum, a temple of the Muses. It was a temple to Apollo, their leader, who
was also the god whom Augustus had taken as his particular patron. The fact that
Apollo had two aspects, one warlike and the other concerned with the pursuits of
peace and art, was a useful ambiguity. His temple looked backwards, to Augus-
tus' triumphs in the battles of Naulochus and Actium, and also forwards, to the
new golden age of peace that was promised. So much is well-known, but what
happened to the missing piece of the Alexandrian pattern? The royal palace had
to disappear for obvious reasons, and Augustus had his own important reasons
to associate his new cultural institution with Apollo, but what happened to the
Muses?

Rome did not have a temple of the Muses, but it had something close, a Temple
of Hercules of the Muses. At approximately the same time as the Temple of Palatine
Apollo was built, this quasi-Museum was fitted with a new portico around it by a
very close relative of the emperor, L. Marcius Philippus, who was both stepbrother

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[4] See Zanker 1988, 51 on the connection of temple with the house and on the similarities with
Alexandria and Pergamum. On the location of the Pergamene library, see Hoepfner 2002.

[5] On the archaeological evidence, see Wiseman 2009, 529.

[6] I owe this point to Daniel Selden. On the Palatine libraries, see J. F. Miller 2009, 189–90 and
Balensiefen 2002.

and uncle by marriage to Augustus. The aim of this chapter is to put the Portico of Philippus back into its rightful place as part of the building program of Augustus. Just as it served Augustus' purposes to associate his library with Apollo rather than the Muses, it was convenient to have someone else's name on the rebuilding of Rome's *de facto* Museum. In this way, he could deflect the charge of wanting to set himself up as a Hellenistic despot, aping the buildings of the Ptolemies. Dividing the functions of the Alexandrian Museum into their separate parts served to disguise the model but may have been inconvenient for users. The fact that another library dedicated to Marcellus was built soon after in the more spacious Portico of Octavia, immediately next door to the Porticus Philippi, suggests that it might have been inconvenient for those meeting or working at the Roman Museum to head up to the Palatine every time a book had to be consulted; this would explain why the Marble Plan shows a corridor permitting direct access from one portico to the other (number 13 on Fig. 74). It is possible that it was always part of the plan to build a library next door. The library was put in the adjoining portico, under the patronage of a different member of Augustus' family; it was an afterthought, in part on account of the constraints of space, but also to avoid at all costs giving the appearance of building a unified Museum/Library complex on the Alexandrian model.

Augustus also wanted the reflected glory of the kind of literary culture that had grown up at the Museum in Alexandria. For this he used another intermediary, Maecenas, who served as the focus for literary patronage and put a certain distance between Augustus and the poets. The presence of a great library and financial support were the most important factors in supporting a literary renaissance, but what is missing was an institutional framework. It is true that literary patronage was always informal at Rome and would continue to be so, but the renovation of Rome's temple of the Muses offered a focal point for literary culture. It was nothing so elaborate as the Museum in Alexandria, but it was something, and it was a gesture of support for Rome's guild of professional poets, which, as we will see, met in the temple. Moreover, it was an invitation and a demand for those poets. The construction of the original temple of Hercules of the Muses was intimately connected with the writing of Ennius' epic *Annales*. It is clear that Augustus was canvassing for an epic of his own, and his remodeling of the old temple was a clear prompt for what he wanted.

How can we be sure that the Portico of Philippus functioned as part of a coordinated cultural scheme, along with the construction of the Palatine temple and the patronage of Maecenas, when we do not have any prosaic accounts of what the building was used for? The proof lies in the way that the poets mingled the Temple of Apollo and the portico in their writings. They understood that they were two parts of the same project, and so did the people of Pompeii. When the Pompeians adapted the decorative scheme of the portico for their own Temple of Apollo, they were making a move that had already been authorized in the metropolis, and

showed themselves to be perceptive readers of its monumental ideology. In order to show how the portico functioned within Augustan propaganda, we will have to step back and look in some detail at the ideological import of the Temple of Hercules Musarum, for the later monument is in some ways a comment on the debates that surrounded its construction some 150 years earlier.

The Temple of Fulvius

The exact circumstances surrounding the construction of the Temple of Hercules of the Muses by Fulvius Nobilior in the second century BC have been the subject of some debate. The problem is that the few ancient sources seem on the surface to contradict each other or at least to pull in different directions. This has led some scholars to dismiss the veracity of one or another part of the evidence, but this is an arbitrary way of proceeding. It turns out that we can reconcile all of the ancient testimony, but it requires a fairly complex narrative; this reconstruction follows mainly from the work of Rüpke.[7] This was not an ordinary temple and the controversy over its construction illustrated fissures in the way the Roman Republic viewed itself. The very fact that it was dedicated not to the Muses but to Hercules of the Muses is an indication of the tension. Normally, one would expect the Muses on their own or accompanied by Apollo. Scholars have hunted down explanations for how it was that Hercules could be associated with the Muses, and these are valuable, but they should not blind us to the fact that it was fundamentally a very peculiar dedication.[8] The introduction to Rome of the suspiciously Greek and potentially effete cult of the Muses among the triumphal monuments of the Circus Flaminius demanded a patron other than Apollo, who, despite the nearby Temple of Apollo Medicus, was still perhaps seen as a Greek god. Hence Hercules.

The most fundamental problem is who paid for the temple. It is repeatedly associated with the sack of Ambracia, the capital of Pyrrhus, by Fulvius Nobilior in 189 BC. He brought a great deal of booty thence, including the representations of the Muses which he dedicated in the new Temple of Hercules of the Muses. This close association with war booty and the location of the temple on the Circus Flaminius have naturally tended to give the impression that it was built, like many of the temples in that locale, with the proceeds of war. Cicero, in his speech *pro Archia*, illustrates the harmony of poetry with the manly military pursuits by referring to Ennius' participation in the Aetolian campaign of Fulvius and the consecration of the spoils of war (*manubiae*) to the Muses (27.4–5). This all seems to

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[7] See Rüpke 2006 and Rüpke 2011, 87–108.

[8] On the background of the cult of Hercules Musarum, see Boyancé 1955 and Sauron 1994, 86–98 and, more briefly, Goldberg 1995, 130–1. On the unusual nature of the association with Hercules, see Sauron 1994, 84.

imply that the temple was paid for by Fulvius out of the spoils of his campaign.[9] But we have another source which contradicts that impression. At the end of the third century AD, the rhetorician Eumenius delivered a speech that imitated and expanded upon the tropes of the *pro Archia*. In it, he states that the temple was built *ex pecunia censoria*, which is to say out of public funds, when Fulvius was censor in 179, not out of his booty upon his triumphal return in 187.[10] Livy adds more doubt on the connection of the temple with the triumph, for he does not mention either the vow or the construction of the temple, as he normally would; this would be a unique omission.[11]

The best clue to resolving this conundrum has previously been overlooked. A statue base was found in the area of Fulvius' temple, inscribed with his name and recording his capture of Ambracia as proconsul.[12] It is interesting that it only mentions his consulship and not his censorship.[13] Eumenius' information that the temple was built from censorial funds sounds as if it could well have come, ultimately, from an inscription on the temple.[14] We may reconcile these two apparently conflicting pieces of epigraphic evidence by deducing that Fulvius' temple was a secondary position for the statue base, which was originally designed for another context. We can guess what that context was, for a very similar inscription was found on a statue base in Tusculum, which was the original home of the Fulvii.[15] This was not contemporary with Fulvius, however, but probably dates to the Augustan period.[16] It was found with a series of other statue bases and we may guess that it belonged to a display of some of Fulvius' booty in the family villa at Tusculum. Perhaps the Muses, too, spent some time in Tusculum. They might well have been kept there in the decade between Fulvius' return from Ambracia and the dedication of the Roman temple. This would explain the omission of the censorship from Fulvius' titulature on the statue bases. Why would Fulvius have moved art in this way from his home to a temple? As it happens, this fits very well with what we know of the controversies that swirled around his triumph at Rome.

Livy tells us that on his return from Ambracia Fulvius met with extreme resistance from other members of the Senate, especially his arch-enemy, M. Aemilius Lepidus. At his urging, the people of Ambracia sent an embassy to the Senate to complain of their treatment at the hands of Fulvius and of the looting of their

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[9] On the disposition of *manubiae*, see Shatzman 1972.

[10] *Panegyrici Latini* 9.7.3. On Eumenius' use of Cicero, see Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 159–60, n. 31.

[11] Aberson 1994, 205–6 and Martina 1981, 54.

[12] *CIL* 6.1307: *M. Folvius, M. f. Ser. N. Nobilior Cos. Ambracia cepit*; illustrated by Rodríguez-Almeida 1986, 13, fig. 2. If this is an Augustan copy of the original, made for the reinstallation of the statues by Philippus, the argument would not change.

[13] I owe this point to Edmund Thomas; see also Caldelli 2012, 139, n. 38.

[14] As suggested by Aberson 1994, 203–4.

[15] On the Fulvii, see Cic. *pro Planc.* 20 and Pliny, *NH* 7.136.

[16] *CIL* 2601: *M. Fulvius, M. f., Ser. N. Cos. Aetolia cepit*.

temples. The senate agreed:[17]

> Signa aliaque ornamenta, quae quererentur ex aedibus sacris sublata esse, de iis, cum M. Fuluius Romam reuertisset, placere ad collegium pontificum referri, et quod ii censuissent, fieri.

> Concerning the statues and the other objects which the Ambracians complained had been removed from their holy temples, it was decided that when Marcus Fulvius had returned to Rome it would be referred to the college of priests, and what they judged right would be done.

Upon his return, Fulvius had to rush his triumph in order to take advantage of the absence of Lepidus from Rome (Livy 39.5.12). The enmity of these two men continued for another decade until their public reconciliation and joint election to the censorship (Livy 40.45–6). In this context, it is likely that the construction of a commemorative temple in the aftermath of Fulvius' disputed triumph would have entailed difficulties. For Aberson, therefore, the conflict and subsequent reconciliation with Lepidus explains the delay between the triumph and the building of its memorial.[18]

In the meantime, the looted artwork would have been on display in Fulvius' house, and this seems to have attracted the ire of Cato the Elder. He made a speech against the diversion of booty from the public sphere in which he criticized those who display captured statues of the gods in their homes.[19] Was he thinking of the Muses, and other booty from Ambracia? It is not certain who was the target of this attack or when it was made, but Fulvius is the likeliest candidate. Cato certainly did criticize Fulvius for failing to capture Ambracia by force, and for taking the poet Ennius with him to Aetolia in the manner of a Greek dynast. He spoke against someone, again probably Fulvius, for misappropriating booty.[20] Thus the eventual construction of the Temple of Hercules Musarum was a pointed rejoinder to the criticisms of Cato.[21] Fulvius' monument was a restatement of the legitimacy of his earlier triumph, a public display of statuary to rebut the charge of appropriating public property, and a testament to the legitimacy of poetry and patronage as a part of Roman public life.

Another problem in the evidence is that Livy does not mention the construction of the temple among the censorial building projects of Fulvius, unless it is implicit in this list (40.51.4):

> … et porticum extra portam Trigeminam, et aliam post naualia, et ad fanum Herculis et post Spei ad Tiberim ⟨et ad⟩ aedem Apollinis medici.

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[17] Livy 38.44.5.

[18] Aberson 1994, 213–14.

[19] *Uti Praeda in Publicum Referatur*; see Rüpke 2006, 490–1 and Martina 1981, 64.

[20] See Sblendorio Cugusi 1982, *ad Or.* 18, 19 and 27 with Scullard 1973, 183–4, Astin 1978, 110, Jordan 1860, 94–5 Flower 1995, 185 and Sciarrino 2011, 99-100.

[21] Martina 1981, 60–4 and Sauron 1994, 85–6.

> … a colonnade outside the Porta Trigemina, and another behind the dock-
> yards, and at the shrine of Hercules, and behind the temple of Hope at the
> Tiber, and at the shrine of Apollo the Healer.

This bald mention of a portico at the shrine of Hercules has not seemed to scholars to fit very well with the construction of an entire sanctuary.[22] But perhaps Fulvius never did build a temple. If the Muses were uneasy visitors in Rome, perhaps they took shelter under the protection of Heracles in one of his already existing shrines.[23] If Livy's text is not corrupt, it may be that as censor Fulvius added a portico to an existing shrine of Hercules and rededicated the whole complex to Hercules of the Muses, but this would involve supposing an otherwise unattested temple of Hercules.[24] The simplest explanation is to suppose that Fulvius founded a completely new Temple of Hercules Musarum when censor and that Livy simply omitted it from his list, perhaps because it had come to seem in retrospect more a triumphal than a censorial monument, on account of the booty from Ambracia which was belatedly moved into it.

Fulvius did not have the means to endow a real Mouseion along the lines of the one in Alexandria and is unlikely to have had the will to do anything so far-reaching. As we will see, Augustus had both the will and the means, but was far too careful of Roman precedent and of avoiding the explicit trappings of Hellenistic kinship. Even Fulvius, who was happier to invite Hellenistic parallels, did not actually build a Museum in the strictest sense: it is not a temple of the Muses but of Hercules in a role as protector of the Muses. This bizarre compromise may have been due to his sense of what Roman religious sensibilities would tolerate, or to an explicit failure to get the senate to authorize an *aedes Musarum*. But it is clear that the resulting dedication has the air of desperate improvisation. It gave the Muses nothing more than a "toe-hold" in a hostile environment.[25] Eumenius does say that Fulvius had found in Greece a cult of Hercules Musagetes. No doubt

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[22] Thus Walsh 1996, 173 and Briscoe 2008, 545, who prefer to refer this *fanum Herculis* to the temple in the Forum Boarium. Coarelli 1997, 456 suggests that there is a lacuna in the single MS which transmits Livy's fifth decade, and rewrites the text here to add an explicit reference to Hercules Musarum. I would suggest that Fulvius' association with the sanctuary of Hercules Musarum was so well known that there was no need to specify the *fanum* any further. If Fulvius' censorial project involved appropriating and renovating an existing temple to Hercules while constructing a new portico, this would fully explain the fact that Livy never credits him with founding a new temple, while the other sources, speaking more loosely, do.

[23] It was suggested by Castagnoli 1961, 608 that this was the shrine of Hercules Custos, but, as many have since pointed out, this is impossible as it continued to have an independent identity and *dies natalis* for Ovid (*Fasti* 6.209–12), and was in any case probably on the other side of the Circus Flaminius. See Coarelli 1997, 452–4 against Olinder 1974, 59–64.

[24] It would, however, help to explain Servius' implication that there was a pre-existing temple of Hercules, to which Fulvius added things (*ad Aen.* 1.8): "his Numa aediculam aeneam brevem fecerat, quam postea de caelo tactam et in aede Honoris et Virtutis conlocatam Fulvius Nobilior in aedem Herculis transtulit, unde aedes Herculis et Musarum appellatur".

[25] The expression is from Horsfall 1976, 85.

there was, somewhere, and interesting connections have been suggested with the Pythagorean milieu of Ennius.[26] But this is obviously a pretext. Everyone will have known that Hercules was an eccentric choice for the role of leader of the Muses. He was very much the right god, however, to occupy an ersatz-triumphal temple filled with booty on the Circus Flaminius.

Another interesting feature of the temple is that it contained, as Macrobius tells us, a copy of the Roman calendar, the *fasti*, along with a commentary.[27] It seems best to assume that this text was painted on the walls, like other Republican *fasti*, though some have claimed that it refers to a book deposited in the temple.[28] Macrobius is referring to a commentary on the names of the Roman months, so this clearly means a text that treated the cyclical Roman year. The question is whether it also included a year-to-year listing of the magistrates; the term *fasti* covers both types of calendar.[29] There is no direct evidence that this cyclical calendar of the months of the year was accompanied, as it regularly was in later examples, by a linear list of consuls and (possibly) censors from year to year, but the indirect evidence is sufficiently strong that many scholars have accepted that it was probably the case here, too.[30]

On the basis of this supposition that there was an annalistic element to the decoration of Fulvius' temple, many scholars have in recent years explored the striking links between its ideological program and the epic *Annales* of Fulvius' protégé Ennius.[31] This connection between poem and temple was perhaps emphasized by Ennius himself: Skutsch believed that that the original edition of the epic culminated with Fulvius' triumphant return from Ambracia and his dedication of the temple, decorated with the representations of the Muses that he had taken as booty.[32] Ennius was the first Roman epic poet to invoke the Greek Muses as the source of his inspiration, and later Roman poets characterized his poetic achievement as though he had triumphantly brought the Muses to Italy, so this metaphorical parallel with Fulvius' conquest may well go back to Ennius himself.[33] If Fulvius provided a physical home for the Muses in Rome, Ennius accommodated them

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[26] Boyancé 1955 and Martina 1981, 64–5. On the scanty evidence for an association between Heracles and the Muses in Greek cult, see Boardman in *LIMC* 4.1.810-11 s.v. "Herakles" and Schauenburg 1979.

[27] *Sat.* 1.12.16, the information presumably deriving from Varro: "nam Fulvius Nobilior in fastis, quos in aede Herculis Musarum posuit …" See Rüpke 1995, 331–68 and, more briefly, Rüpke 2006, 499–503.

[28] Rüpke 2006, 491–3; Michels 1967, 125, n. 18.

[29] Feeney 2007, 167–8.

[30] Rüpke 1995, 346–52, Gildenhard 2003, 95 Feeney 2007, 170.

[31] See Gildenhard 2003, Gildenhard 2007, 84–6, Rüpke 2006, Feeney 2007, 170, P. R. Hardie 2007, 138–9; in contrast, Zetzel 2007, 13, n. 63 is skeptical.

[32] See Skutsch 1968, 18–19, and *contra* Zetzel 2007, 13–14.

[33] See Hinds 1998, 52–6 on Ennius, Lucretius, and Virgil, and P. R. Hardie 2007, 139–40 on Horace.

in Latin poetry, displacing the native Camenae.[34] Thus both the *Annales* and the walls of Fulvius' temple were year-by-year records of Roman achievements and of the passing of Roman time: both were appropriate projects to entrust to the Muses, daughters of Memory.

What Fulvius provided Rome was not just a temple to accommodate the Muses, these newly arrived goddesses. It was a Mouseion, a cultural institution of the sort that a Hellenistic king might erect.[35] No wonder Cato did not approve. Perhaps even more controversially, it was a Roman *lieu de mémoire*.[36] Monuments that frame the past are always sites of contestation, and this was no exception. On the one hand, we have Fulvius and Ennius, interpreting Roman history as a series of individual accomplishments and triumphs accruing to particular aristocratic families. These individual achievements were to be celebrated by poets like Ennius, emulating Homer in preserving for posterity the famous deeds of their patrons, and by artists like those who built Fulvius' temple. Cato disagreed. He savagely attacked Fulvius' military achievements (Gell. *NA* 5.6) and his association with Ennius, even though he himself had once been on good terms with the poet.[37] If the Temple of Hercules Musarum was a response to Cato's criticism of his disposition of war booty, it was not a submission to his views: there can be no doubt that the foundation of a temple for the Greek Muses would have seemed to Cato an act of reprehensible Philhellenism. Cato's most substantial response to the view of Roman history implied in the work of Fulvius and Ennius was his *Origines*, the first work of history in Latin prose, which was begun in 168, the year after Ennius' death. It is likely that this work began with words forming a Latin hexameter, a feature regularly repeated in later Latin prose historians.[38] If so, this would have been a clear indication that Cato saw his work as a response to Ennius, who had essentially invented the Latin hexameter not long before. Famously, Cato omitted the names of the protagonists, indicating Roman magistrates simply by their office.[39] This view of the Roman Republic as an anonymous corporate enterprise driven by *concordia* stands in stark contrast to Fulvius' and Ennius' conception that competition for individual fame, glory and remembrance was the engine behind Roman military success.

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[34] See Skutsch 1968, 3–5 and Hinds 1998, 56–63.

[35] Flower 1995, 186.

[36] On the concept, see Nora 1997.

[37] See Cic. *Tusc.* 1.4 and Nepos *Cato* 1.4 with Astin 1978, 16–17. Goldberg 2005, 10–12 argues convincingly that it was the production of the topical, partisan and encomiastic drama *Ambracia* which was the immediate spur of Cato's ire against Ennius.

[38] See Cardinali 1987, Churchill 1995, 100–2 and Sciarrino 2006, 468.

[39] Nepos, *Cato* 3.4: "atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, sed sine nominibus res notavit". See also Cic. *Rep*. 2.2: (reporting Cato's view): "… nostra autem res publica non unius esset ingenio, sed multorum, nec una hominis vita, sed aliquot constituta saeculis et aetatibus". On the crucial *topos* of "Rome as a collective state," see Griffin 1985, 178–80. For the possibility of a collectivist reading of the *Annales*, see Goldberg 2005, 28.

The position of the temple proclaims its connection an with individual triumph; the Circus Flaminius was the starting point for triumphal processions and hence there were a great number of votive temples founded by victorious generals in the vicinity.[40] This same connection between triumph and temple was probably also articulated by Ennius. Timpanaro suggested that the alliteration in Cicero's phrase "Martis manubias Musis consecrare" sounds distinctly Ennian; he suggested that Cicero is here quoting from the poet's *fabula praetexta* on the siege of Ambracia.[41] As we will see in the next chapter, the image of the victorious Fulvius forcibly dragging the Muses from Greece to Italy and putting them on display in a new temple becomes an extremely potent one for Latin writers. The re-foundation of this Roman Museum by Octavian's party at the time of his return from Alexandria and his triple triumph was a re-playing of the same theme.

The question whether the Roman Republic was a monolithic corporate entity or a loose collection of competing individual interests would continue to be debated until the coming of Augustus. It was he who made the question moot by aligning the state with the interests of a single person and a single family. It is no coincidence, therefore, that one of his close relatives was behind the renovation of this monument. He updated its decorative program in a way that made clear the new ideology, in which the sweep of Republican history was subordinated to the history of a single family. This Augustan rebuilding also provides an intriguing parallel for the way in which Fulvius' temple was the architectural correlative of Ennius' epic. The *Annales* was not a suitable national epic from Augustus' point of view, and for different reasons it had come to seem unsatisfactory to many of Rome's poets as well. It is clear that Augustus and his proxy, Maecenas, were actively soliciting poets to write a new epic, an effort that eventually gave us the *Aeneid*. As we will see, the links between this new construction of Philippus and contemporary literature are just as intense as those between Ennius and Fulvius' building. The Augustan poets had a professional interest in the temple of the Muses and responded in detail to the program of the renovated complex.

Philippus and Augustus

In commemoration of the triumph he had celebrated in 33 BC, the younger L. Marcius Philippus dedicated a portico surrounding Fulvius' Temple of Hercules Musarum. The Portico of Philippus is not a well-known monument, which may be the result of two assumptions: that it was an eccentric work of an insignificant and peripheral member of Octavian's circle and that it did not amount to a substantial building project. Both of these assumptions can be shown to be false. Architecturally, the Portico of Philippus formed a seamless unity with the porticoes of Octavia and (probably) Octavius that stood on either side of it, thereby

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[40] Thus Martina 1981, 62.
[41] Timpanaro 1949, 198–200.

serving to make the entire northern side of the Circus Flaminius a monument to Augustus' extended family. Ideologically, it was of a piece with everything that the *princeps* was doing in the aftermath of Actium.[42] Nor was the portico a minor project. As we will see, it probably involved rebuilding from scratch all of Fulvius' sanctuary except for a small circular temple to Hercules at its center.

Both the Temple of Palatine Apollo and the Portico of Philippus were begun before Actium and completed afterwards, and they both emerge from the years of struggle between the triumvirs. As noted above, Julius Caesar may have planned to build a major library for Rome, and as part of the struggle to lay claim to Caesar's legacy, Asinius Pollio provided Rome with its first public library when he rebuilt the Atrium Libertatis after his triumph in 39. Rome's original temple to Apollo had been built by a member of the Julian family, and the god was now Octavian's patron, to whom he had started building a new temple on the Palatine. Thus Gaius Sosius' vow to restore Apollo's ancient temple after his triumph in 34 was a barely veiled gesture of rebuke to Octavian for failing to do the same instead of building his own temple.[43] In the end, Pollio bowed out of politics and Sosius was ostentatiously pardoned by Augustus after Actium. Sosius' temple was completed in such a way as to transform it from a gesture of independence into a loyal expression of the new ideology. Both the Portico of Philippus and the Temple of Palatine Apollo arose out of the context of triumviral rivalry, but were completed as carefully designed and integral parts of the new Augustan city.[44]

In the early years of the decade before Actium, the building activity in Rome of Antony's lieutenants had notably outstripped Octavian's.[45] The Portico of Philippus was part of a concerted effort to catch up, which included the rebuilding of the Regia by Cn. Domitius Calvinus (triumph in 36), the building of the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus (triumph in 34), and the renovation of the Aventine Temple of Diana by L. Cornificius (triumph in 33/2).[46] In 34, L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, nephew of the triumvir Lepidus but ally of Octavian, completed the Basilica Aemilia that had been begun by his father, a work which was in turn a rebuilding of a structure by the censors Fulvius Nobilior and his ancestor M. Aemilius Lepidus. To this period also belongs the extraordinary aedileship of Agrippa in 33, when he undertook so much work on the water supply and drainage of the city. And of course the Temple of Palatine Apollo and the Mausoleum of Augustus were also presumably under visible construction around this time.

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[42] There has been some debate on the extent of the autonomy enjoyed by the builders who had triumphed just before Actium; see Gros 1976, 37–8. But Philippus is clearly a special case, due to his intimate family connections to Octavian.

[43] For the argument that Sosius was restoring the old temple of Apollo rather than building a new one and for skepticism about the political meaning of this gesture, see Gurval 1995, 116–9.

[44] La Rocca 1987.

[45] Syme 1939, 241.

[46] See Shipley 1931, 21–3, 24–5, 28–9, 30–2.

The date of the dedication of the Portico of Philippus cannot be fixed with precision, but it was probably around 29 BC. Tacitus and Suetonius both group Philippus with other lieutenants of Octavian who dedicated public works built from the spoils of their triumphs in this period.[47] We know that Philippus celebrated a triumph *ex Hispania*, and the phrasing of both Suetonius and Tacitus suggest that we should connect the building with the celebration of that triumph. The day of Philippus' triumph was April 28, but a lacuna in the *fasti triumphales* prevents direct confirmation of the year; as Shipley demonstrates, however, circumstantial evidence shows that it was almost certainly in 33.[48] Shipley goes on, "from the known data in regard to other monuments of the *triumphales* we may assume that the work consumed at least four or five years," which suggests a re-dedication of the temple on 30 June of 29 or 28.[49] Although the ostensible purpose of the portico was to commemorate the triumph of Philippus, it coincided chronologically with Octavian's return from Alexandria, his triple triumph in 29 and the dedication of the Temple of Palatine Apollo the following year. Thus the chronological juxtaposition of the completion of these two structures will have suggested their connection as two aspects of the emulation of the Museum and Library of Alexandria. The renovation of the Temple of Hercules Musarum had a built-in association with Actium: Ambracia, the city from which Fulvius removed the Muses, was very close to the site of the battle.

No Roman would have been foolish enough to think that Philippus was acting independently. His father did carefully cultivate a public air of scepticism towards his step-son Octavian's ambitions, as reflected in the famous story that he advised him not to take up his inheritance from Caesar; but the facts belie this pretense of independence.[50] In particular, the careers of both the elder Philippus (praetor in 60, consul in 56) and the younger (tribune in 49, praetor in 44, suffect consul in 38, triumphator in 33) over these decades must be the result of the patronage of first Caesar and then Octavian.[51] The closeness of the bond was reinforced by the marriage of the younger Philippus to the younger sister of Atia, Octavian's mother; this made him Ocatavian's uncle as well as stepbrother. It is most unlikely that

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[47] Tac. *Ann.* 3.72 and Suet. *Aug.* 29.4–5.

[48] Shipley 1931, 28–9 See also Degrassi 1947: the lacuna in the *Fasti Capitolini* (pp. 86–7), which gives the years, is here supplemented by the *Fasti Barberiniani* (pp. 342–3), which does not: in his notes Degrassi (*ibid*, pp. 569–70) agrees that Philippus' triumph must have been in 33.

[49] Shipley 1931, 30. The day of the year is given by Ovid's *Fasti*; see below. Many modern authorities give the year of the dedication unequivocally as 29, but Shipley 1931, 1 and 30, n. 6 long ago pointed out that there is no evidence for this precision, and that it probably arose because Platner and Ashby confused it with the citation of chapter 29 in Suetonius' *Life*. Despite Shipley's correction, and despite his correction of the frequent confusion of Philippus father and son, both errors stubbornly persist: see e.g. Richardson, Jr. 1992, 187.

[50] See Syme 1939, 128 and Gray-Fow 1988, who argues that Octavian acquired from his step-father his skill at keeping the senatorial aristocracy on side while subverting it.

[51] For the dates, see Shipley 1931, 29.

this singularly well-connected young man, who ultimately "proved a nonentity", came up with the project of restoring and reorganising the Temple of Hercules Musarum on his own initiative.[52] This hypothesis is confirmed by the way in which the project coheres both architecturally and ideologically with other aspects of Octavian's building program.[53] It was squeezed between the Portico of Octavius, whose rebuilding Augustus advertised as a personal achievement in his *Res Gestae* (see below) and the Portico of Octavia, which was ostensibly the work of his sister, but in the construction of which Octavian played a major role, as confirmed by Suetonius (*Aug.* 29.4). Philippus was wholly the creature of Augustus.

Over the course of the late 30s, Octavian seems to have moved methodically westward across the north side of the Circus Flaminius, first refurbishing the Portico of Octavius, then building the Portico of Philippus, then replacing the Portico of Metellus with the Portico of Octavia, and finally building the Theater of Marcellus. The first of these, the Portico of Octavius, had been erected in 168 BC by Cn. Octavius, who was possibly a very distant relative of Octavian. It is widely assumed that Dio (49.43) confuses the *Porticus Octavia* and the *Porticus Octaviae*; this would date this project to 33. Coarelli has demonstrated that the most likely place for the Portico of Octavius is on the western side of the Portico of Philippus, continuing and completing the northern edge of the Circus Flaminius.[54] In the *Res Gestae* (19.1), Augustus makes quite a good joke about the fact that he had turned this area into a family monument, adopting Cn. Octavius as an ancestor in the process:

> porticum ad circum Flaminium, quam sum appellari passus ex nomine eius qui priorem eodem in solo fecerat Octaviam … feci.
>
> I built … the portico near the Circus Flaminius, which I allowed to be called by the name of the man who had built the earlier one on that same spot – that is, the Portico of Octavius.

The first part of the sentence is an elaborate but typical boast about how modest Augustus was in allowing this portico, as he often did, to retain the name of the original builder. Then, carefully withholding the name until the end, he gives us the punch line with the final word of the clause, *Octaviam*. It is an entirely facetious profession of modesty, for it turns out that, in this case, the name of the original builder just happened – by purest coincidence! – to be the same as his own.[55]

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[52] Quote: Gray-Fow 1988, 196; likewise Syme 1986, 403–4.

[53] Thus Viscogliosi in *LTUR* 4.146, s.v. "Porticus Philippi".

[54] For the arguments, see Coarelli 1997, 515–28 and for a diagram, see Coarelli 2007, 268, fig. 65. Augustus (*RG* 19.1) and Pliny (*NH* 34.13) both put it *ad circum Flaminium* and Velleius 2.1 (*in circo*). More specific information is given by Festus (178): "Octaviae porticus duae appellantur, quarum alteram, theatro Marcelli propiorem, Octavia soror Augusti fecit; alteram theatro Pompei proximam Cn. Octavius Cn. filius, … quam combustam reficiendam curavit Caesar Augustus". The other, less likely, possibility is that it was on the short, western side of the Circus.

[55] Commentators, e.g. Cooley 2009, 187, typically get the point but not necessarily the joke.

Augustus shows here a witty self-awareness of the paradoxical purposes of the *Res Gestae*, whereby he shamelessly proclaimed his modesty and advertised his lack of self-advertisement as a builder.

The location of the Portico of Octavia on the other side of the Portico of Philippus is well known, but its date is uncertain; it was probably built in the late 30s or early 20s.[56] The Marble Plan attests that the porticoes of Philippus and Octavia were congruent and together they provided a uniform facade for the northern side of the Circus Flaminius; it even labels them jointly, as if both porticoes formed two parts of a whole. So we see that in the latter half of the 30s, Octavian was engaged in a project to redefine the northern side of the Circus Flaminius by reconstructing three Republican structures with three porticoes in the names of three different members of his extended family. After the death of Marcellus, this line of porticoes would eventually culminate in the building of the theater named in his honour. Octavian's role in the building of the Porticoes of Octavia and Octavius is obvious; we should assume the same for the Portico of Philippus, which was squeezed between these two and formed part of the same overall strategy. The integration of the Portico of Philippus within the ideological program of Augustus should now be clear.

One indication that Philippus largely built a new structure is given by Ovid, whose sixth and final book of the *Fasti* concludes on June 30, remembering this as the day of dedication of the Portico of Philippus. The poet thus concludes his *Fasti* with a building containing an early example of the official *fasti*.[57] He addresses the Muses in Callimachean fashion and asks them to explain who it was that associated them with the unwonted figure of Hercules. We know that the answer ought to be Fulvius, or perhaps even Ennius, but Clio responds in a highly misleading way:[58]

> dicite, Pierides, quis vos addixerit isti
>   cui dedit invitas victa noverca manus.
> sic ego. sic Clio: "clari monimenta Philippi
>   aspicis, unde trahit Marcia casta genus …"

> Speak, Muses, I asked; say who is was that connected you with this figure
> to whom a defeated step-mother unwillingly yielded [i.e. Hercules]? Clio
> responded: "you see the monument of noble Philippus, from whom chaste

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[56] Platner and Ashby 1926, 427 claim that the latter was built after 27, but this seems to be based on the assumption that Vitruvius, who still calls it by the old name of the Portico of Metellus (3.2.5), was writing around then. But the internal evidence for the dating of Vitruvius' writing is notoriously problematic (see Rowland and Howe 1999, 3–5) and in his preface he seems to say that, although he waited until after Actium to publish his work, he had been writing for some time before. Presumably the dedicatory preface was the last thing written, so it is possible that the portico was rebuilt in the late 30s, and the reference to the Portico of Metellus reflects this earlier period of writing. After Marcellus' death, Octavia dedicated a library in his memory, but this could have been a later addition to the complex.

[57] Boyle 2003, 242.

[58] Ovid, *Fasti* 6.798–802.

Marcia traces her descent."

It is true that what you see is the Portico of Philippus, but this is utterly disingenuous; he was not the one who put the Muses under the protection of Hercules. Clio has effectively airbrushed Fulvius out of the history of the monument. It is particularly ironic that when asked a straight-forwardly historical question, Clio, the muse of History, evades the point at issue and responds in the present tense. She simply points to the current appearance of the building, and completely ignores the Republican past in favor of a contemporary renovator.[59] Ovid goes on to praise Philippus' daughter, Marcia, cousin of Augustus and friend of Ovid's wife.[60] It was therefore in the interest of his rhetoric to downplay the role of Fulvius and expand that of Marcia's father, which means that we cannot take him at his word here. Furthermore, the effacing of Fulvius may have had a poetical motive, as this permits Ovid at the very end of the first installment of the *Fasti* to efface what was probably the ending moment of the first edition of Ennius' *Annales*: the founding by Fulvius of the Temple of Hercules Musarum and his placing the *fasti* there.[61] Ovid's *Fasti*, which in a sense rivals the *Annales* as the great poem of the Roman calendar, effaces that foundation from the record and climaxes with the foundation of that temple's new Augustan incarnation instead, thus superseding Ennius' poem. On the one hand, the joke depends upon the reader knowing that Clio is not giving the full story here; on the other, this joke would have fallen flat unless the intervention of Philippus was indeed substantial enough to have given a new look to the structure. In the final couplet of the poem, Clio's non-answer to Ovid's question is endorsed by her sisters and by Hercules himself, who sounds his lyre in a gesture that Ovid glosses as approval.[62] It is not merely a coincidence of the calendar that the *Fasti* ends with the Portico of Philippus. If, as argued below, that monument embodied a demand from Augustus for poetry that would support the ideology of the regime, then the *Fasti* is Ovid's ambiguous response.

Another aspect of Ovid's testimony which suggests the novelty of Philippus' building is the fact that its *dies natalis* or date of dedication was June 30. Boyle has pointed out that this cannot be the birthday of Fulvius' temple, because June only had 29 days before Julius Caesar's reform of the Roman calendar.[63] The Chronography of 354 records that the *natalis Musarum* was on the Ides of June (the 13th), which may be the original date of dedication of Fulvius' temple.[64] This information has tended to be overlooked, perhaps due in part to a resistance to viewing Philippus' intervention as large enough to entail giving the Republican temple a

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[59] This irony is explored by Barchiesi 1997b, 269–70 and Newlands 1995, 215–16.

[60] Littlewood 2006, 231 and Newlands 1995, 214.

[61] See Barchiesi 1997a, 207 and Breed and Rossi 2006, 408, with n. 45.

[62] On the ambiguity of the gesture, see Newlands 1995, 235 and A. Hardie 2007, 564–70.

[63] Boyle 2003, 270, disproving the claim by Gros 1976, 33 that the Republican *dies natalis* was "sans doute identique".

[64] Thus Martina 1981, 54–5, *contra* Degrassi 1963, 471.

new birthday. This Augustan rededication implies that Philippus did more than simply build a completely new outside portico around the existing temple. As we will see below, the archaeological evidence confirms this, suggesting that all that remained of Fulvius' structure was the small circular temple. We will find that Philippus completely replaced the portico which surrounded the earlier temple, if indeed it had one, and surrounded the inner temple with a new podium and new landscaping. With the exception of the small circular temple, the architecture of the whole sanctuary was new.
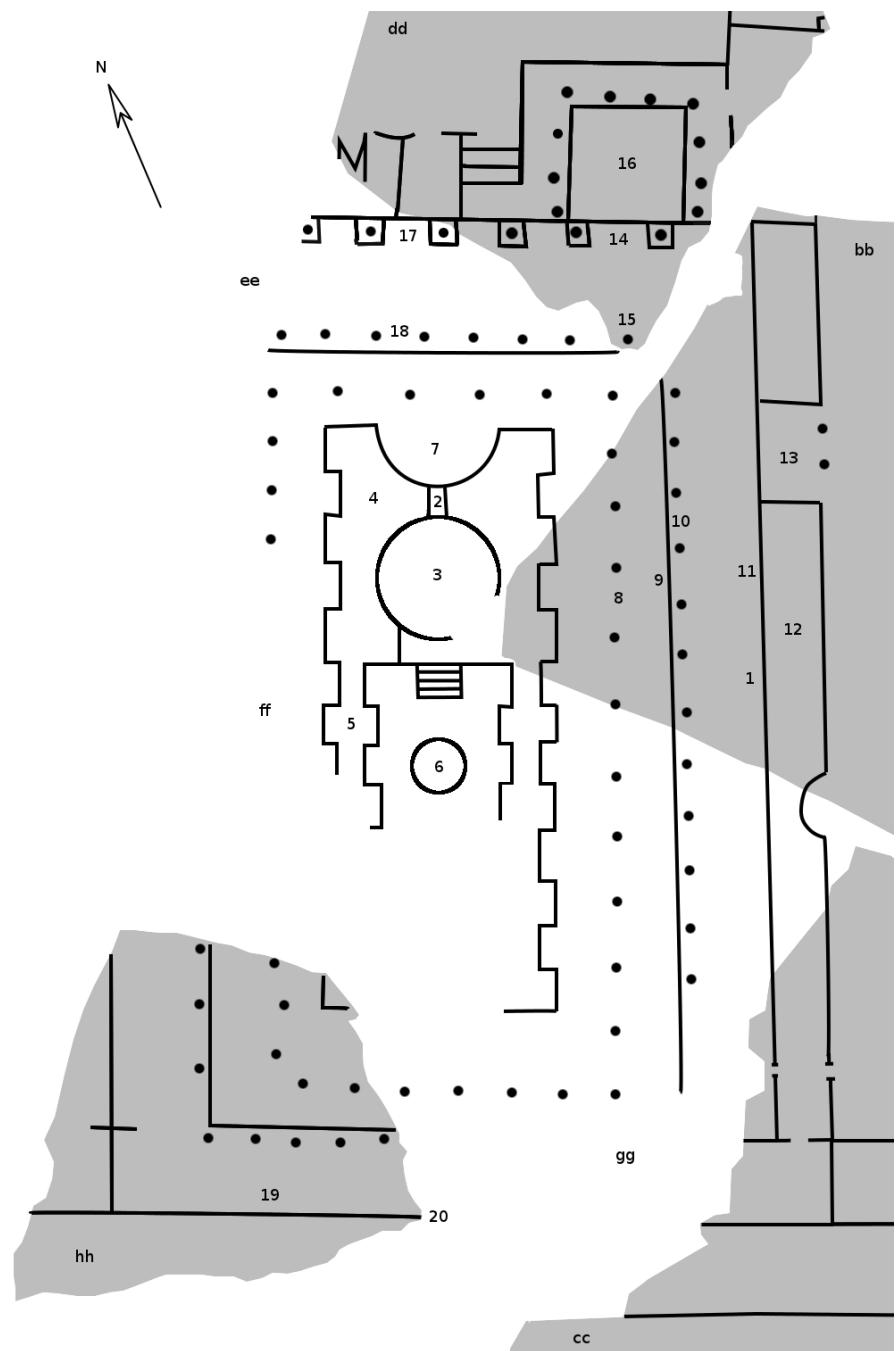
Figure 74: Plan of the Portico of Philippus.

Key to fig. 74

The Portico of Philippus according to the Severan Marble Plan, after Carettoni et al. 1960, Tab. 29, Fig. 31. The grey background indicates surviving fragments; the rest is inferred from rough sketches made in the Renaissance of fragments which are now lost. The fragments are identified by double lower-case letters.

1 Excavation under the porch of the church of Sant'Ambrogio, exposing the east wall of portico podium.
2 Excavation in courtyard, exposing the access corridor through the Augustan podium to the rear of the Fulvian temple.
3 Fulvian circular temple of Hercules.
4 Extension of podium, added in Augustan period.
5 Arms extending forward from new podium; the four wide platforms on each side could have accommodated eight of Fulvius' statues of the Muses, possibly surrounded by landscaping and fountains, as in the Templum Pacis.
6 Perhaps a base for the statue of the ninth Muse (Calliope), or possibly a round altar. The shape makes it an unlikely candidate for the aedicula of the Camenae, as often suggested.
7 Apse at rear of temple.
8 Innermost row of dots, probably representing a portico on the lower level, possibly Fulvius' original portico or a reconstruction thereof. Has also been interpreted as a row of trees.
9 High wall separating the lower, Fulvian level from the outer, elevated portico added by Philippus. This will have served as the perimeter wall for the inner portico, which is the likeliest location for the hanging of paintings.
10 Middle row of dots, possibly representing the pillars of the arcade of the upper, outer portico.
11 Perimeter wall of the upper, outer portico; possibly a simplification of what was a colonnade.
12 Narrow alley between the porticoes of Philippus and Octavia. Excavations at no. 1 show that the external wall of the Portico of Philippus was very tall and was decorated with stucco painted with geometric lines.
13 Passage allowing direct access between the Portico of Philippus and the Portico of Octavia with its library.
14 Dotted squares, of uncertain architectural interpretation.
15 Column mid-way between two dotted squares.
16 Peristyle beyond north wall.
17 Continuation of dotted squares as attested by the drawing of fragment ee; see fig. 79.
18 Columns of outer portico as attested by the drawing of fragment ee; see fig. 79.
19 Probable location of the remains of the portico visible in the Renaissance. This would not then have been a blank outer wall as shown but a colonnade

continuous with the columns on the south side of the Portico of Octavia.

20 Main entrance to the Portico of Philippus from the Circus Flaminius must have been here.

The Layout of the Portico of Philippus

We now turn from the historical evidence for the foundation of the monument to the question of its physical appearance. The crucial evidence for the layout of the Portico of Philippus and the Temple of Hercules Musarum comes from several fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, some of which are preserved only in the form of drawings made in the Renaissance. The temple is labelled by name and the Portico of Philippus is named jointly with that of Octavia next door.[65] Both the portico and the temple have unusual features, which has made the layout shown by the Marble Plan difficult to interpret. It may also be doubted whether a plan made in the Severan period will accurately reflect the layout of the Augustan monument, especially given the number of serious fires in Rome in the intervening period. However, it is known that the Severan plan does not accurately reflect the Severan rebuilding of the adjacent portico of Octavia, but rather its Augustan phase.[66] So the plan here too is probably is based on earlier, Augustan city plans.[67]

A few archaeological investigations were made in 1983, and although these were limited in scope, they found features which can be matched with the Marble Plan and which have greatly helped to clarify it. We will begin our discussion of the plan of the sanctuary, therefore, with the two main pieces of archaeological evidence. The first pertains to the outside perimeter wall of the portico. Under the porch of the church of Sant'Ambrogio were found remains which seem to belong to its east side, where it faced the side of the Portico of Octavia across a narrow alley (number 1 on Fig. 74).[68] This was a very tall wall, perhaps around three meters in height, and its eastern side was visible from that alley: its outer side was made from tufa blocks covered in stucco to emulate marble revetment, which was painted with geometric lines.[69] On the inner side of this elegant wall are parallel foundation walls in *opus caementicium*, which are connected together at intervals by perpendicular walls of *opus reticulatum*. This part was not meant to be seen, and must have been the substructure underneath the portico. The Portico of Philippus therefore towered over the Circus Flaminius, as did the Portico of

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[65] A different reconstruction of this inscription was proposed by Richardson, Jr. 1976, 63, but it has not found favor, excepting Ackroyd 2000, 574–5.

[66] Ciancio Rossetto 1996, 267–9.

[67] Porcari 2008, 181.

[68] Gianfrotta 1985, 382–4, Castagnoli 1983, 97–8.

[69] This decoration was usually taken to be Augustan, but for a re-dating to the Severan period, see Porcari 2008, 184. If this was the result of repairs after the fire that destroyed the Portico of Octavia, it does not necessarily follow that the Portico of Philippus was destroyed and rebuilt as well.

Octavia.[70] The reason for building it this way was probably to defend against the frequent flooding of the Tiber.[71] It would not be surprising if the original temple of Fulvius had suffered damage from such floods, and one important purpose of the renovation was to put that right.

Figure 75: Structures under the basement floor of the porch of the church of Sant'Ambrogio. Left: foundations in *opus caementicium* and *reticulatum*; right: ashlar tufa blocks of the exterior wall, which has been backfilled so that the stucco which was found on the outer face to the right is no longer visible; author's photographs.

The second dig which yielded significant results was conducted in the garden area in the middle of the monastery cloister, and there was found a narrow corridor between two parallel tufa walls with traces of marble facing (number 2 on Fig. 74).[72] The gap between the walls was about a meter wide and seems originally to have been paved in marble. At its southern end this narrow corridor ended by meeting at a right angle the remains of a curving wall made of cappellaccio blocks.

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[70] Ciancio Rossetto 1996, 267.

[71] Gianfrotta 1985, 384.

[72] In the plan shown by both Gianfrotta 1985, 379, fig. 3 and Castagnoli 1983, 95, fig. 2 it is unclear whether this find was at the spot marked c or b. I have assumed that it is c, since that location fits well with the indication of the north part of the circular temple on the Marble Plan when it is overlaid with a map of the area, as in fig. 73. But some comments in those articles make me wonder if that assumption is correct. If this find was at the place marked b, either my plan is wrong or the identification of this feature is mistaken.

This collection of elements has been interpreted as corresponding very well to an area shown on the Marble Plan, just north of the larger circular structure at the center. That circle has long been identified as part of Fulvius' temple; this is uncontroversial, as the circle seems to have been the usual form for Republican temples to Hercules. The controversy has been over how much of the rest of the central area to attribute to Fulvius. The fact that the circular wall is made of a different building material suggests that it belongs to a different phase, and cappellaccio, a rough, grey local tufa, is consistent with a Republican date and very unlikely for an Augustan building.[73] The oddly-shaped podium that surrounds the circular temple must, however, belong to the Augustan rebuilding, as an early Augustan date for this podium was confirmed by pottery fragments found in the fill.[74] This confirms the conclusions that we drew earlier from the literary evidence, that the Portico of Philippus was more than just a portico thrown around the Fulvian sanctuary, but was a thorough renovation of the whole complex.

Some earlier studies had wanted to attribute the oddly-shaped podium (number 4 on Fig. 74) to Fulvius, but this now seems impossible.[75] The circular temple (number 3 on Fig. 74) was presumably his, but it had a new and presumably much larger podium around it. It may have been that inundation had damaged the lower part of the original podium or simply that the new podium was designed to make the circular temple part of a more imposing centerpiece for the new portico. Marchetti-Longhi has aptly suggested an analogous development of another small, circular Republican temple.[76] The circular Temple B at Largo Argentina, probably dedicated to Fortuna Huiusce Diei soon after 101 BC, was enlarged at a later date. The cella was demolished and a new cella was created by filling in the spaces between the external circle of columns; at this point the podium was enlarged by surrounding it with a larger ring.[77] The enlargement and elaboration by Philippus of the podium of the circular temple of Fulvius was a somewhat larger and more complex project, but not very different in kind. It is possible that its cella received an identical program of cella enlargement, and this would explain why, unusually, the Marble Plan does not indicate the existence of any columns around it, but that is not a necessary hypothesis.

The complex form of the podium is puzzling at first, but it can be explained. We know of two aspects of Fulvius' sanctuary that had to be rehoused in the new complex: the nine statues of the Muses and the *fasti*. As it happens, the form of the podium is perfectly designed to accommodate both of these. The name Hercules of the Muses indicates that it was officially dedicated only to Hercules and so we

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[73] As Amy Russell points out to me.

[74] Castagnoli 1983, 96. It is puzzling that Coarelli 1997, 478–80 draws the opposite conclusion.

[75] Tamm 1961, 162, suggesting the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste as an unlikely parallel; followed by Coarelli 1997, 480–1.

[76] Marchetti-Longhi 1956–8, 71.

[77] Stamper 2005, 77-8.

should only expect one cult statue. In any case, the cella of the circular temple was too small to accommodate ten statues, so the Muses were presumably arranged in front, as was often the case with Republican temples.[78] They may have stood on statue bases like the one discovered with the inscription naming Fulvius. His *fasti*, if it was like other Republican calendars, would have been painted on a wall.[79] It would have needed protection from the weather, but the inside of the temple would have been cramped. If the passage of Livy discussed above was referring to this structure, then Fulvius' temple also had a portico, which would have been the logical place for his *fasti* to be displayed.

The podium of the temple seems to have been designed to receive these Fulvian elements. The six niches on each side of the podium corresponded to the twelve months of the calendar ,and we might follow Lundström and Coarelli in placing Fulvius' *fasti* here.[80] If this is right, the position, exposed to the elements, indicates that we must be dealing with a calendar inscribed in marble, which is typical for *fasti* in the Augustan period.[81] This would have been a replacement for the painted Republican calendar. If there was a list of annual magistrates to accompany the months of the year, these could have gone elsewhere, such as in the niches on the inside of the projecting arms of the podium. Those arms (number 5 on Fig. 74) are another peculiar feature which can be explained as part of a design to deploy Fulvian elements. The arms stretch out in front of the temple, where the statues of the Muses in all likelihood originally stood. There are four places on each side where the arms widen and where a statue could have been placed.[82] This accounts for eight Muses, and the ninth would have been placed on the circular podium in the middle (number 6 on Fig. 74). The odd number of the Muses is inconvenient from the point of view of architectural symmetry and required treating one of them differently. Since Hesiod, Calliope had been singled out as their leader, and this is routine in Augustan poetry.[83]

Not everyone will agree with this reconstruction. The small circular structure in front of the temple (number 6 on Fig. 74) has usually been identified as either an

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[78] Next door, for example, the Republican predecessor to the Portico of Octavia was the quadri-porticus of Metellus, which provided a space for the display of his booty, especially Lysippus' twenty-five equestrian statues of the companions of Alexander. For an example of a circular temple with statues arranged in front, see again Largo Argentina Temple B with Pliny, *NH* 34.60.

[79] Rüpke 2006, 492.

[80] See V. Lundström 1929, Tamm 1961, 162 and Coarelli 1997, 482.

[81] Rüpke 2006, 492.

[82] The reconstruction of the Marble Plan given by Carettoni et al. 1960, Fig. 31 has a small asymmetry on the east side of the east arm, due to the hasty drawing of fragment 31gg. This is clearly an error, however, and my reconstruction ignores it, as do most others; see Castagnoli 1983, 102, n. 16.

[83] Καλλιόπη θ'· ἡ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἁπασέων, *Theog.* 79. Calliope speaks on behalf of her sisters at Prop 3.3.37–51 and Ovid, *Met.*5.337–40. Propertius twice pairs Calliope with Apollo in a way that might suggest that they represent the Portico of Philippus and the Temple of Palatine Apollo respectively: see 2.1.3 and especially 4.6.11–12.

altar or the *aedicula* of the Camenae which Servius tells us that Fulvius transferred
to his new temple. On the other hand, a circular form would be somewhat unusual
for an altar and very strange indeed for an *aedicula*. As for the position of the
Muses, Coarelli has ingeniously suggested that they are represented on the Marble
Plan, where there is just barely room for nine dotted squares along the north wall.[84]
This would mean that the statues were moved far away from the Fulvian temple
and put in the upper, outer portico along its north wall (number 14 on Fig. 74).[85]
This is possible, but unlikely. It would mean that all of the Muses were displayed
against a wall and that two of them were wedged into corners, which is rather
awkward. An even stronger objection is that to remove the Muses so far away
from Hercules would make something of a mockery of the name of the temple.
Philippus clearly meant to supersede Fulvius' monument, but it is unlikely that he
would have made such a contemptuous gesture of expropriating and marginalizing
his Muses. For what it is worth, Ovid clearly portrays Hercules as still in close
connection with the Muses when he sounds his lyre to approve Clio's discourse.
On Coarelli's hypothesis, he would be a distant figure, on a lower level, with his
back to the Muses, and with the rear wall of the cella between them. By contrast,
if the Muses were arranged right in front of the cella, he could see them through
the door.

   If the new podium and the circular element were designed to house the nine
statues of the Muses, it was clearly a much more elaborate structure than was nec-
essary. The best parallel on the Marble Plan for this sort of crenellated structure
is in the Temple of Peace, which has a series of somewhat analogous lines in the
courtyard: long, thin structures which have rectangular indentations.[86] In com-
parison with the two arms stretching in front of Fulvius' temple, the indentations
are much farther apart and as a result the wide sections are much longer. Neverthe-
less, the fact that both are contained within temple porticoes might suggest some
form of kinship. This area of the Temple of Peace has recently been excavated, so
we have some idea of what these structures were. Evidence of drainage has been
found which suggests that they were fountains or pools, and that they were bor-
dered by formal plantings of roses.[87] This fits with the literary testimony that this
courtyard was one of the most beautiful places in the city.[88] The Temple of Peace
was known for its collection of masterpieces of sculpture, so it may be that the long
structures also served as bases for some of the sculpture which we know was housed
there.[89] Based upon the parallel from the Temple of Peace, the most likely guess
is that the arms of the podium of Hercules Musarum supported statues and in-

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[84] Coarelli 1997, 483. See also Marabini Moeus 1981, 46.

[85] On the two levels of the sanctuary, see below.

[86] See Lloyd 1982 and Anderson, Jr. 1982, 105.

[87] Rizzo 2001, 238–40, Meneghini 2006, 150, Fig. 19.

[88] E.g. Pliny, *NH* 36.102, Herodian 1.14.2-3.

[89] Rizzo 2001, 240 is skeptical, however.

corporated plantings of flowers and perhaps fountains. It would have been a most appropriate grotto-like environment in which to house the Muses. It may even be that the Flavian Temple of Peace took this Augustan courtyard of the Muses as its model, a place where sculpture, fountains and flowers aided contemplation.[90]

At the rear of the podium, there is a semicircular niche (number 7 on Fig. 74), which some have thought to be a small theater for poetic recitals, but the excavations gave no sign of that. We might instead expect it to provide a focal point for a piece of statuary in the middle of the apse. At the center of the semicircle is the small corridor at the rear of the cella which was unearthed by the excavators, the purpose of which is unknown. It seems to be the only point at which the old Fulvian podium was exposed to view. It may be that the reason for this was as banal as to allow drainage from the cella. In its original form, it is unlikely that Fulvius' temple had any opening at the rear, but buildings on the alluvial soil of the Campus Martius did sometimes settle unevenly. If the cella had developed a slight rearward slope, the Augustan remodelers might well have knocked a small hole at the rear for drainage. Since the drain for the inner floor of the cella would then be lower than the height of the new podium put around it, something like the corridor would have been a necessity. If there was a statue or some other object in the apsidal niche, it would have concealed the drain and the glimpse of the old podium that the corridor exposed.

The Republican temple with its new podium presumably was built at ground level in Fulvius' day. That level will have risen considerably by the Augustan period, and as we saw, the new portico was erected on a platform that rose high above the later ground level outside the enclosure. On the inside, therefore, the external portico must have towered over the inner courtyard in which the Republican temple and its new (or old) portico were situated. This helps to explain another peculiarity of the plan, which is that the two lines of dots that surround the podium are not aligned with each other (numbers 8 and 10 on Fig. 74) and there is a solid line runs along the inside of the outer row (number 9 on Fig. 74). This indicates that the structure cannot be a double portico, as in the Portico of Octavia next door, where the plan shows two rows of aligned dots with no lines between. The solid line must show the place where the high level of the portico ends, dropping down to the level of Fulvius' temple. So the row of dots along the line (number 10 on Fig. 74) marks the columns supporting the roof of the Portico of Philippus proper.

Different explanations have been offered for the unaligned dots on the inside (number 8 on Fig. 74), which must belong to the lower level. Some think that these are trees, which would fit well with the idea of fountains and flowers making a suitable abode for the Muses. It is not clear that the Marble Plan frequently marked trees in this way, however.[91] In recent years, improvements in excava-

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[90] For other parallels, see La Rocca 2001, 101–6.
[91] See Lloyd 1982 for an optimistic view.

tion techniques have revealed that many sanctuaries in Pompeii were planted with trees, and the same was probably true in Rome.[92] The vast majority of trees were therefore not marked on the plan, and in fact the evidence seems to indicate that the trees of such sacred groves were planted to align with the columns of the surrounding portico, as is not the case here.[93] Given these problems with the tree hypothesis, a better explanation for the lack of alignment is that there were two different porticoes on different levels. The inner ring of columns would thus support the roof of a second, inner portico on the lower level.[94] The outer wall of this inner portico would be the podium on which the Portico of Philippus rested, represented by the solid line on the Plan (number 9 on Fig. 74). If the pavement of the outer portico was 3–4 meters above ground, as the excavations suggest, the inner wall of its podium would be high enough to serve as the outer wall of a portico at ground level. There would be no reason to expect the columns of this portico to be aligned with those of the portico on the upper level, and the failure of the plan to show a means of access from one level to the other is not surprising, given its schematic nature. This lower, inner portico might be the preservation or a reconstruction of the portico of Fulvius' temple; if so, it could well be the original location of the painted *fasti*.[95]

Moving to the Portico of Philippus itself, it is represented on the Marble Plan as having blank walls on the south, east and west sides. If the fragment of the Plan at the southwest corner (hh) has been correctly positioned with respect to the Renaissance drawings that preserve the central part of the temple (eeff), the fragment breaks off just before the mid-point of the wall without any sign of a monumental entrance (number 20 on Fig. 74). This stands in contrast to the Portico of Octavia next door with its monumental entranceway, which was then enlarged in the Severan period, the remains of which are visible today. It is surprising to be told that the Portico of Philippus was an inward-looking structure with a simple entrance from the Circus Flaminius, especially since the Portico of Octavia seems to have had a very open aspect toward the Circus in the Augustan period.[96] We might suspect in any case that the blank walls shown by the Marble Plan are an oversimplification.[97] We will see below that there that there is in fact evidence which suggests that the Portico of Philippus had an elaborate, open facade looking onto the Circus, and that it echoed the open colonnade at the front of the Portico of Octavia.

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[92] See Carroll 2010.

[93] See Carroll 2007, 41.

[94] As suggested by T. Najbjerg in the text of the Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project website, under the heading "Porticus Philippi" (http://formaurbis.stanford.edu).

[95] See Marabini Moeus 1981, 46.

[96] Richardson, Jr. 1992, 318 s.v. "Porticus Octaviae"; on the closing off of that open front in the Severan reconstruction, see Ciancio Rossetto 1996, 270–3.

[97] Thus Gros 1976, 82.

On the north side, by contrast, the Marble Plan shows some architectural elaboration represented in the form of small squares with dots in the center (number 14 on Fig. 74). These dotted squares were used to represent the monumental entrance to the Portico of Octavia, and it is possible that the whole north side of the structure was open.[98] We will discuss possible explanations for these dotted squares in the next section. Beyond the north wall is a small peristyle (number 16 on Fig. 74), whose function is unknown.[99] We hear of some distinctly non-sacred activity in association with the portico: Ovid tells us that this was the neighborhood where you went to buy a wig.[100] Such activity must have been conducted just outside the portico, in a space such as this.[101]

The Architecture of the Portico

Over the years, only a few scanty remains of the Portico of Philippus have been unearthed, which is not surprising, given what was said in 1838 by the topographer Antonio Nibby:[102]

> Avanzi sopraterra non ne rimangono, ma io che sono nato sulle sue rovine, e che vi ho abitato per ben quattro lustri posso accertare che dentro le cantine di tutte le case comprese nel circondario descritto di sopra, e quà e là dentro i muri delle case appariscono tali indizii, che se un giorno si sgombrasse il suolo e si demolissero i fabbricati come si fece al Foro Trajano si avrebbero risultati importanti per la Topografia antica di Roma e per le Arti.

> No remains of it [the Portico of Philippus] are left above ground, but I who was born upon its ruins and who lived there for two decades can affirm that in the cellars of all the houses in the area described above and in the walls of the houses here and there are indications that, if one day the ground were cleared and the buildings demolished as was done in the Forum of Trajan, it would have important results for the ancient topography of Rome and for the arts.

Going back further in time, it is fairly certain that there were no significant visible remains of the architecture of the monument remaining in the eighteenth century, when Piranesi was comprehensively documenting the Roman ruins of the Campus Martius. He does identify one structure as the Portico of Philippus, but unfortunately he was mistaken. His engraving with this label shows an entirely different structure well to the west of the Portico of Philippus, where it was associated with the church of Santa Maria in Cacabaris, which was demolished to make way for

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[98] Richardson, Jr. 1992, 318 s.v. "Porticus Philippi".
[99] Coarelli 1997, 475 suggests that it is a public latrine.
[100] *Ars am.* 3.1167–8; Martial (5.49) makes a similar joke, on which see Rodríguez-Almeida 1986.
[101] Richardson, Jr. 1977, 361.
[102] Nibby 1839, vol. 2, 609.

the via Arenula.[103] A vestige of these remains, which were once quite extensive, are still visible today in via di Santa Maria dei Calderari. Over the years these have been connected with various ancient buildings, but there is little agreement today on their identification.[104]
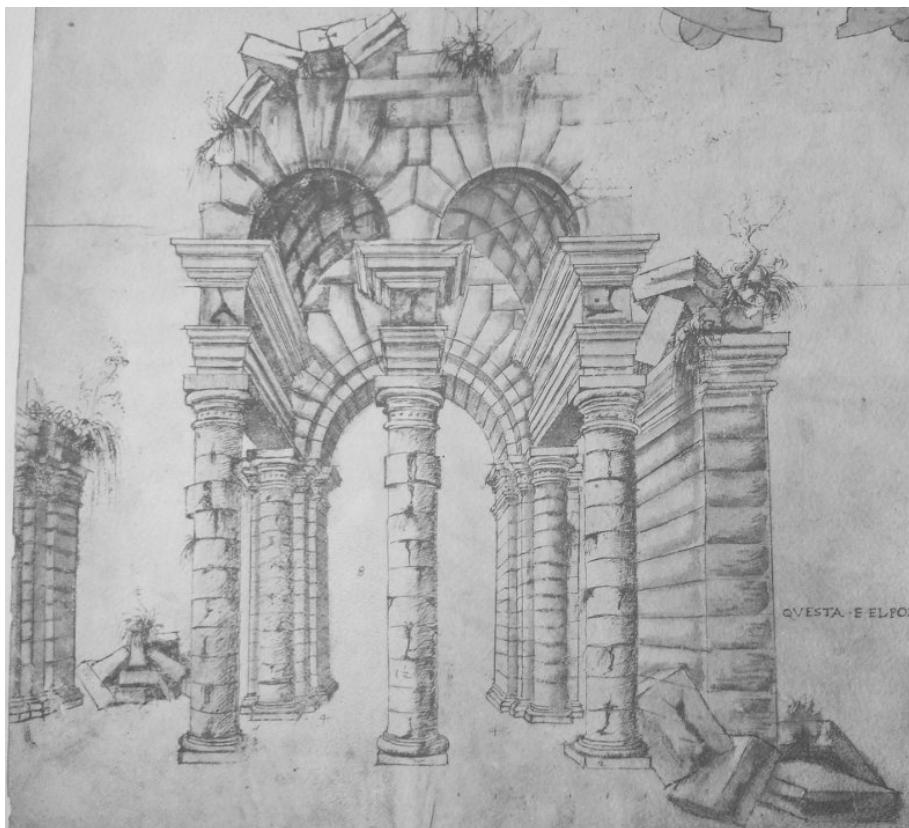
Figure 76: Drawing from the Barberini sketchbook of Giuliano da Sangallo, f. 1v., from Hülsen, *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo* (1910).

Going back in time still further, we come to a famous book of drawings, the Barberini sketchbook of Giuliano da Sangallo, which is now in the Vatican.[105] It contains a drawing of an otherwise unknown Roman portico near the Jewish Ghetto, along with a plan of the structure (fig. 76).[106] Lanciani first suggested a link between this structure and a fragment of the Marble Plan. The next step was

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[103] Piranesi 1972, Pl. 29.

[104] See Günther 1981, Tucci 1994–5 and Claridge 1998, 222, with Fig. 102.

[105] For Giuliano's drawings of antiquities, see in general Günther 1988, 104–38.

[106] Hülsen 1910, f. 1v, 2r. Giuliano guessed that it was the portico of Pompey, but that is incompatible with the information he gives that it started at Piazza Giudea; see below on Giuliano's account of the location of the ruins.

made by Hülsen in his edition of the notebook, who connected it with a sketch in the Uffizi, traditionally identified as the work of Fra Giocondo, which shows an almost identical plan along with two small details of what seems to be the same structure (fig. 77).[107] Considerable doubt has grown up in recent years over the attribution of this group of drawings, but for convenience of reference I will simply refer to them as Giocondo's rather than using a clumsy circumlocution.[108] The argument below would not be affected if these drawings were by another hand.

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[107] Bartoli 1914–22, vol. 1, Pl. 43, Fig. 71.

[108] For bibliography on both sides of the issue, see P. N. Pagliara in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 56, s.v. "Giovanni Giocondo da Verona (Fra Giocondo)".
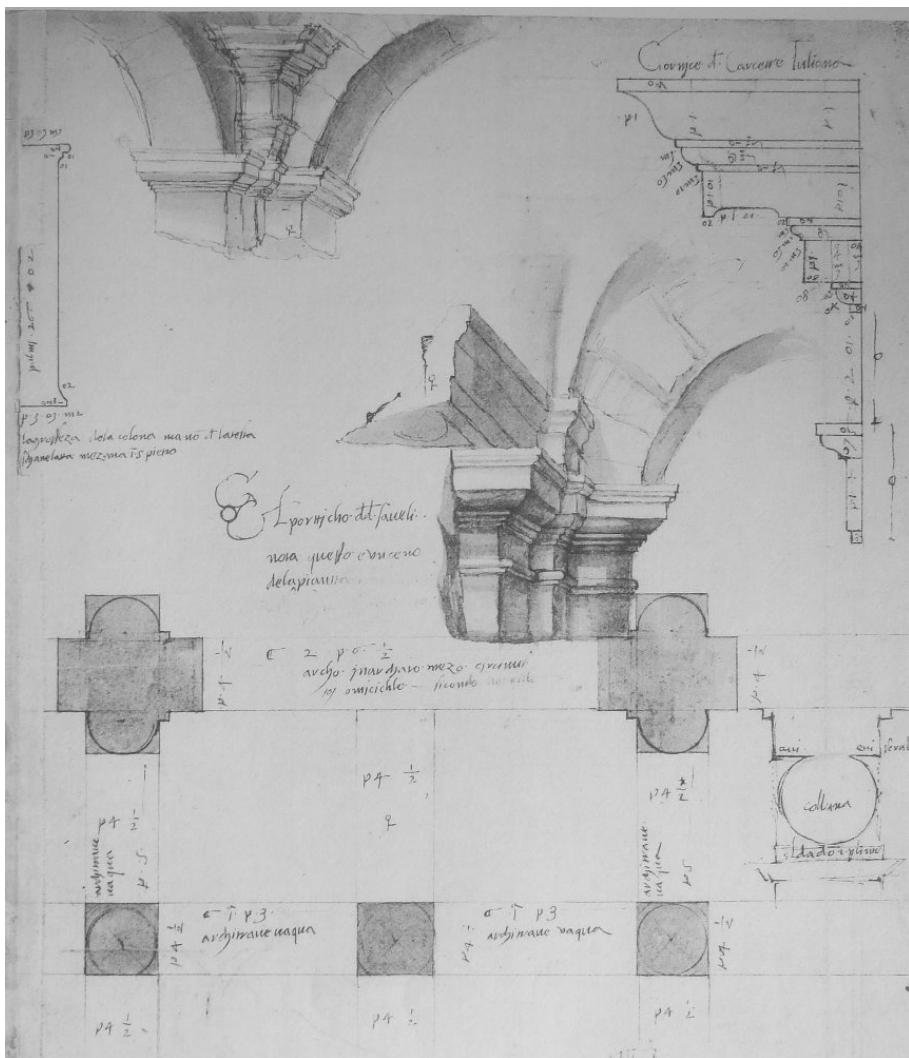
Figure 77: Drawing by Fra Giocondo, from the Uffizi (Arch 125r.), Bartoli 1914–22, Vol. 1, Tab. 43, Fig. 71.

A very strong case can be made for the identification of the ruins sketched by Giuliano and Giocondo with the Portico of Philippus, but so far the idea has not met with general approval, so it will be necessary to lay out the evidence in some detail.[109] The first matter to address is whether Sangallo and Giocondo show the same structure. Hülsen had doubts, even as he made the connection between the drawings, alluding to differences in the plan and the measurements.[110] It is in fact clear that the plans are essentially identical with respect to the structures they show. There is just one very minor discrepancy: Giuliano shows the large pillars with half-columns attached at the back as well as at the front. This may simply be due to one or both of the architects not bothering or not being permitted to see what was on the other side of the pillar and making contrary assumptions about its symmetry. Access to the rear of the ruin may not have been easy to get.
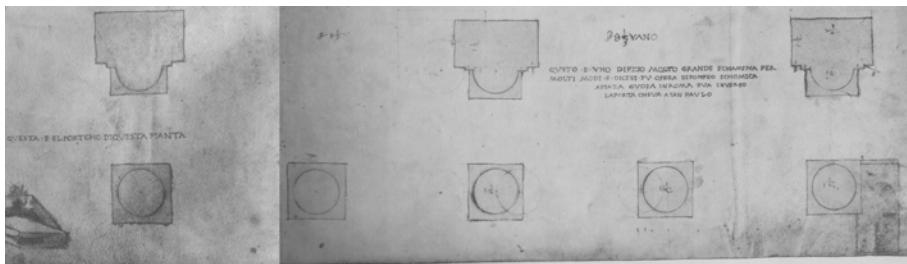
Figure 78: Sangallo's plan of the structure depicted in fig. 76, Hülsen 1910, f. 1v. and 2r.

The second issue Hülsen alludes to is potentially more serious; it seems that the measurements given by the two artists may be incompatible. Giocondo indicates quite a few measurements on his plan, Giuliano somewhat fewer. They both give dimensions for one important feature of the building: the spacing for the large pillars at the rear. Giuliano says that these large pillars were spaced at a distance of 8⅓ Florentine *bracci*, which is in theory supposed to equal 0.5836m, giving a length of 4.86m. Giocondo, on the other hand, apparently uses the Roman *palmo* and the *canna architettonica* of 10 *palmi*; he gives the spacing of these large pillars as 2 *canne* and 6½ *palmi*, which is to say 26½ *palmi*; at the standard conversion of 0.2234m, the gap would be 5.9m.[111] A discrepancy of over a meter appears to be a serious problem, especially as both architects are so very careful to give minutely

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[109] For a recent negative reaction, see Viscogliosi in *LTUR* 4.146–7, s.v. "Porticus Philippi".

[110] See Hülsen 1910, vol. 2, 6. Not knowing where our portico was located, Hülsen was wrong to connect this structure (pp. xxxv and 77) with a very different-looking portico destroyed by Pope Paul II which is shown in a plan of the Capitol published by Lanciani 1875, pl. 17–18. That was far off on the other side of the Theater of Marcellus, the reference to which is the only thing the porticoes have in common.

[111] For the conversion factors, see Martini 1883.

precise measurements of several other details of these ruins.[112]

In fact, it is easy to show that the measurements in the drawings of Giuliano and "Giocondo" routinely disagree in this way, even for buildings that still exist, as may be seen from comparing their plans of the Basilica of Maxentius in the Roman forum. Giuliano's plan is in the same Vatican notebook, and the one attributed to Giocondo is in the same collection at the Uffizi; the drawings are clearly by the same hand, whether or not it was actually Giocondo.[113] Both artists use the same units of measurement as in their plans of the portico; once again Giuliano gives fewer measurements than Giocondo, but there are three aspects of the building which both men give lengths for. Since some modern treatments of the basilica do not have a plan with the precise measurements we need, we will turn for a comparandum to a very detailed plan from 1682 by Desgodetz.[114] The measurements in this book are famously precise and it has the advantage of showing the basilica in a state similar to what it was in for the other two artists 150 years before. The results are given in Table 5.1.

	Sangallo	Giocondo	Desgodetz
Nave width	48 *bracci* 28.013m	13 *canne* 6 *palmi* 30.382m	77 *pieds* 5½ *pouces* 25.162m
West bay width	35.5 *bracci* 20.717m	13 *canne* 3 *palmi* 29.712m	70 *pieds* 3.5 *pouces* 22.834m
West archway	10⅔ *bracchi* 6.225m	4 *canne* 1 *palmo* 9.159m	22 *pieds* 4 *pouces* 7.255m

Table 5.1: Measurements of the Basilica of Maxentius.

The general accuracy of Desgodetz' measurements is supported by modern reference works which give the width of the nave as 25 meters.[115] For the other two, the general pattern is that Sangallo's measurements tend to be about 10% smaller than Desgodetz', while Giocondo's are about 20% larger. The only exception to that pattern is Sangallo's measurement of the width of the nave, which looks to be an error.[116] In other words, the Renaissance artists carried with them their own

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[112] I assume this is the sort of thing Hülsen 1910, vol. 2, 6 means by "differenze delle misure".

[113] See Hülsen 1910, f. 63v and Bartoli 1914–22, Vol. 1, Pl. 59, Fig. 91.

[114] *Les edifices antiques de Rome dessinés et mesurés très exactement* (Paris 1682); for a digital copy, see The University of Wisconsin Digital Library for the Decorative Arts and Material Culture (http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.EdiAnt). The plans of the monument given by Minoprio 1932 and Giavarini 2005 do not have the necessary measurements.

[115] For the modern measurement, see Platner and Ashby 1926, 77 and Coarelli in *LTUR* 1.172 s.v. "Basilica Constantiniana".

[116] On the less than perfect accuracy of Giuliano's drawings, see Ashby 1911, 175.

personal measuring units, which were not standardized to great precision: they were more interested in documenting relative than absolute sizes of architectural features.[117] If we return to our monument and inflate Giuliano's measurements by 10% and decrease Giocondo's by 20%, they in fact agree that the large pillars were roughly 5m apart.

Finally, there is an even more serious discrepancy between the two artists' sketches. Rather than being evidence that they show different monuments, however, what it does is to demonstrate that Giuliano's beautiful sketch is not completely to be trusted as documentary evidence: it combines archaeology with creative architecture.[118] The strangest thing, architecturally, about his elevation, is the narrowly-spaced row of small arches in the foreground. The impost blocks above these columns look enormous and out of proportion and look as though they belong to a much later period.[119] One might be tempted to say that this shows that the monument shown could not be Augustan, except that the other plan of Giocondo clearly demonstrates that this part of the building was the product of Giuliano's fertile imagination. On his plan, Giocondo writes the words "architrave va qua" ("an architrave goes here") in four places: running from the large pillars in the back to the smaller columns in front of them, and also between the three small columns in the front. By contrast, the wider space between the two rear pillars has a clear indication that there was a semicircular arch between them.[120] This agrees perfectly with the drawing of Giuliano, except in the treatment of the front, where he puts small arches where Giocondo says there was an architrave. The only plausible explanation for this flat contradiction is that what both artists saw was a series of columns in the front with nothing on top but fragments of something matching the transverse architraves. Giocondo quite sensibly concluded that there must have been an identical architrave across the front columns. Giuliano instead imaginatively reconstructed a series of arches springing from impost blocks which rather awkwardly had to match the design of the transverse architraves. The result shows the influence of his study of later Roman basilicas. One benefit of opening up the front elevation in this way is that it permitted him to show more of the barrel vault on the inside of the portico.

Once we remove the series of arches at the front as a speculative invention, the rest of the architecture is unproblematically Augustan. The ceiling of the portico consisted of a series of transverse barrel vaults springing from elaborate architraves connecting the columns attached to the rear pillars and alternating front

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[117] On the variability of units of measurement, see Lotz 1979.

[118] A practice which is called "reconstruction as design" by Cammy Brothers; see Brothers 2002.

[119] I am extremely grateful to Amy Russell for making this point to me (comparing the inner ring of columns at Santa Costanza), and for doing it so stubbornly that I was compelled to look at the drawings again.

[120] The exact words are difficult to make out, but I read it as "archo inarchato mezo circinus omicichlo [=emiciclo?] si come …" or "arch arching half of a drafting-compass semicircle as if …"

columns.[121] The rear pillars themselves supported semicircular arches with an identical span to the vaults, but which were considerably lower on account of not resting on the architrave and thus concealed the vaulting.[122] The vaulting was also concealed at the front, where we must imagine a straight architrave, matching the transverse ones, resting atop the front row of columns.[123] Now that we have shown that both Giuliano and Giocondo were drawing the same structure, which is plausibly Augustan, we must turn to the question of where these ruins were located.

The Location of the Ruins

In his notebook, Giuliano gives a precise indication of the location of the ruins he had sketched:[124]

> questo è un edificio molto grande e cammina per molti modi e dicesi fu opera di Pompeo e comincia a Piazza Giudea in Roma e va inverso la porta che va a San Paolo

> This is a very large building and it proceeds in many ways and it is said to have been the work of Pompey and begins at Piazza Giudea in Roma and goes toward the gate that leads to San Paolo.

The allusion to the portico of Pompey's theater can be dismissed, for it is topographically impossible; its precise location was not yet known in Giuliano's day. The reference to San Paolo has proved very perplexing. Hülsen rightly saw that "the gate that leads to an Paolo" must mean St Paul's Outside the Walls, even though it is very far away.[125] The idea that Giuliano would have indicated a southerly direction by reference to a far-distant landmark which would have been quite impossible to see from Piazza Giudea is not plausible, however.[126] He did not have a modern

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[121] Giocondo's drawing shows a shadow rising from the corner of the rear pillar which might seem at first glance to be a groin, but if you compare the drawing of Giuliano, this must be showing the point where the larger, rear arch came to rest on the large, rear pillar. The outward step and shadow he shows would then correspond to the stepped articulation in that rear arch as shown by Giuliano. Giuliano's drawing clearly shows a barrel vault, and groin vaulting is incompatible with the transverse architraves that both artists document.

[122] For a very close parallel for this arrangement of arch and vault, though without columns and employed for a different architectural purpose, see the drawing of the Augustan amphitheater at Nîmes at Adam 1999, 192, fig. 453.

[123] If Bendinelli 1956–7, 559–63 is correct, which is very far from certain, that a terracotta plaque shows an elevation of the temple, then the arches shown behind the foreground portico would be an indication of the arcade behind and/or the barrel vaulting.

[124] Hülsen 1910, f. 2r; see fig. 78.

[125] Hülsen 1910, vol. 2, 5.

[126] Another interpretation of Giuliano's words has been put forward by Röll and Campbell in Campbell 2004, vol. 1, 295–6. They claim that the church in question is San Paolo alla Regola and the gate is the gate in the walls of the Ghetto leading to that church. The gate would have been the

map of Rome to tell him that St Paul's was due south, and if he had wanted to indicate this, he could simply have said that the monument ran towards the Tiber or towards the island. The true meaning of this cryptic reference was first indicated by Lundström.[127] He pointed out that there was a medieval road running along the old north side of the Circus Flaminius. This route, once the via Tecta, had been turned in late antiquity into the Porticus Maxima, a long porticoed route through the southern Campus Martius.[128] This continued to be used as a route for pilgrimage through the middle ages, as it attested by a number of documents. For example, the first Einsiedeln itinerary describes a path from the basilica of St. Peter to that of St. Paul which runs along a route which can still be traced in the modern streets of Rome. It runs from the Vatican across the Aelian Bridge and south through Campo dei Fiori, past the Theater of Pompey, and through an un-named portico up to the church of Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, which is inside the Portico of Octavia. It then continues past the Theater of Marcellus, and onwards along the curve of the Tiber toward Porta S. Paolo to the south.[129] As Lundström perceived, this is why Giuliano said that the monument went in the direction of the gate that leads to St. Paul's. He was not speaking of direction as the crow flies, but rather direction along this important pilgrimage route from St. Peter's to St. Paul's. If we remember that around 1514 Giuliano and Giocondo (assuming that the Uffizi sketch is his), along with Raphael, had succeeded Bramante in the joint task of designing the great new basilica of St. Peter's, it becomes easy to imagine why both of these men would have had plenty of occasions to walk past this monument and why they might have paused to sketch it.

This interpretation of the location of the monument is confirmed by the vaguer indication given in the sketch attributed to Fra Giocondo in which he says that the portico is of or behind the Savelli.[130] This must mean the Theater of Marcellus, which in this period, before it came into the possession of the Orsini, was

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one roughly due southwest from the piazza, near where the present-day Piazza delle Cinque Scuole meets the river. This is not impossible, but it would be very strange to indicate a southerly direction by referring to San Paolo alla Regola, which is some distance to the west. Their argument is that Giuliano saw the structure in via di Santa Maria dei Calderari, but those are to the northwest of Piazza Giudea and are therefore incompatible with their preference for a gate in the Ghetto walls. The plan of that building also is quite different from this one. Furthermore, it is hard to see any traces in the drawing of Dosio, the subject of their discussion, which has anything in common with the drawings of Giuliano and Giocondo.

[127] See V. Lundström 1929, 108 with amplifications by Castagnoli 1983, 99–100; see also Borsi 1985, 43–5.

[128] See Patterson in *LTUR* 5.145–6 s.v. "via Tecta" and Coarelli in *LTUR* 4.130 s.v. "porticus Maximae"; for a skeptical view of the identity of these two roads, see Heyworth 2011, 44–7.

[129] Lanciani 1891, 7, 76–81 and Hülsen 1907, 42–3.

[130] "El portticho dd savelli": the abbreviation is either "dei" or more likely, "dietro": Hülsen 1910, vol. 2, 6.

associated with the Savelli family.[131] Hülsen mistook the location of Giuliano's portico, so he took this as another indication that the two architects might have been sketching different monuments. In fact, it confirms our interpretation of the location of the portico. The road to the Basilica of St. Paul passed along the north side of Piazza Giudea, and followed the route of the present-day via del Portico di Ottavia toward the Theater of Marcellus. So Giocondo's statement that it was behind the theater is fully in accord with Giuliano's information. This indication eliminates another candidate, the Portico of Octavius, whose southern end probably ran along the northern side of Piazza Giudea and continued to the northwest along the route in the other direction, toward St Peter's.[132]

The precise location of the monument is given by Giuliano's statement that it *started* at Piazza Giudea before heading southeast. The irregular shape of the no longer extant piazza is well documented in early maps. It was a double piazza, shaped like two diamonds which touched at a narrow point in the middle, where the main gate to the Ghetto (locked at night) was located (see fig. 73). The pilgrimage route alluded to by Giuliano ran along its northeast face, just outside the boundary of the Ghetto. The ruins must have started at the east corner of the northern half of the piazza, which was outside the Ghetto proper: this point corresponds to the present-day intersection of Via della Reginella and Via del Portico d'Ottavia. In 1824, the Ghetto was enlarged to include the place where the ruins had been, and an additional gate was constructed at this very spot.[133] This corner of Piazza Giudea corresponds to the southwest corner of the Portico of Philippus. From there, Giuliano's monument ran along the route to St Paul's, or toward the theater of Marcellus. Giocondo simply describes the same location from the opposite perspective, i.e. behind the theater of Marcellus. In other words, the monument drawn by both artists was located precisely where the Marble Plan tells us the southern side of the Portico of Philippus was found. I think this much is secure; but of course, that is no guarantee that these ruins come from the Augustan phase of the building. It might be a Severan rebuilding, or even part of the later *porticus maxima*.[134]

We can now attempt to match the two Renaissance plans of the ruins both to the Marble Plan and to modern archaeological investigations. The first attempt to match Giuliano's ruin to the Plan was made by Lanciani. He noted the unusual ar-

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[131] Röll and Campbell are quite wrong in Campbell 2004, vol. 1, 293 to link with Giocondo's drawing the arcades shown in a drawing by Dosio, which were on the opposite side of the theater, toward the Capitol.

[132] Giuliano's drawing is tentatively connected with the Portico of Octavius by Tucci 1997; see Senseney 2011, 440, n. 54

[133] See the map of Stow 2001, Fig. 2.

[134] See Porcari 2008, 180–1, who hypothesizes a Severan reconstruction of the Portico of Philippus on the basis of some fairly thin evidence. Fires are very unpredictable things and the Portico of Philippus might have been endured nothing more than cosmetic damage, even though its neighbor, the Portico of Octavia, needed to be rebuilt.
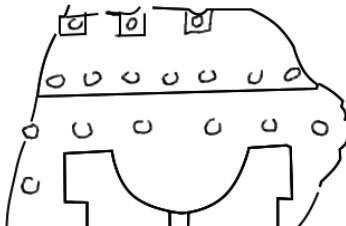
Figure 79: Part of fragment 31ee of the Marble Plan, after the drawing Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439, f. 22r.

chitectural arrangement whereby the columns in the front row are twice as closely spaced as the columns attached to the rear pillars, with every other column aligning, and he connected this with a feature visible in a drawing of a lost fragment of the Marble Plan which we now know shows the north side of the Portico of Philippus (number 17 on Fig. 74).[135] This fragment is evidence for the disposition of the dotted squares along the north side of the portico, which we discussed briefly above. In the standard reconstruction of Carettoni et al. the columns and pillars on either side of the north aisle of the portico show no alignment at all (numbers 17 and 18 on Fig. 74). But if we look at the Renaissance drawing on which this reconstruction depends, there is a hint of alignment (fig. 79). Of the three dotted squares shown along the north wall, the pair on the left are aligned somewhat with alternate dots from the row of columns just below. Admittedly, the match is far from perfect, but we are dealing here with a rough copy where the circles are rendered and positioned rather hastily.[136] Indeed, the Marble Plan itself can be careless in the spacing of columns, as can be seen in the existing fragment which shows the other part of the row of dotted squares (number 14 on Fig. 74). The two squares opposite the peristyle on the north side of the main portico have been aligned with it in such a way as to make the spacing of the squares quite irregular, which is presumably an error.

It would be very helpful if the surviving fragments, rather than rough sketches, also showed the other row of columns so that we could check if they align alternately. Unfortunately, only one dot of that row survives on marble (number 15 on Fig. 74). It is positioned more or less across from the midpoint between the two dotted squares opposite, which is consistent with an alternating alignment, but is not conclusive. We were able to explain away the lack of alignment between the very innermost ring of dots and the outer columns by pointing out that they must belong to a much lower level of the complex, so there is no reason for them to align. We cannot use that argument to explain the apparent lack of alignment

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[135] See Lanciani 1897, 496–7, who erroneously associated this drawing with the crypta Balbi and with the structure of disputed identity in via di Santa Maria dei Calderari.

[136] On the errors in the Renaissance transcriptions, see Carettoni et al. 1960, 43–51.

between the dots and dotted squares in the portico itself. The function of dotted squares in the Marble Plan is often controversial, as for example in the Portico of Pompey, but they might represent larger architectural features such as the pillars of the arcade. It is an interesting coincidence that Giuliano and Giocondo attest just such a portico in this particular place. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the north aisle of the portico was visible. That part of the ancient plan is now occupied by the Renaissance structure which replaced the medieval monastery; it is unlikely that any ruins survived there.[137] Giuliano's connection of the ruins with Piazza Giudea likewise points to the southern rather than the northern part of the portico.

If the ruins visible in the Renaissance did correspond to the southern end of the portico, it is possible that one part of those ruins was subsequently excavated. In 1889 and again in 1911, during excavations for a sewer in the middle of Via del Portico d'Ottavia, a substructure with a row of six column bases was found.[138] Tucci has published the archival drawings of the architect in charge of the 1889 project, Domenico Marchetti, and has shown that they are more detailed and reliable than the notices of the find which were published at the time.[139] Marchetti's plan shows that the distance from the start of the first column to the end of the sixth is approximately 16 meters.[140] We can compare the spacing of the columns on Giocondo's plan, for he gives the space between columns as 1 canna and 3 palmi, or 13 palmi; for the width of the column base he gives 4.5 palmi. To make up the distance along the colonnade measured by Marchetti, we need 5 inter-column spaces (5 × 13 = 65) plus 6 column widths (6 × 4.5 = 27) which is 65 + 27 = 92 palmi. Multiplying by the standard conversion factor of 0.2234m gives a length of 20.55m. This seems too large to match the excavator's 16m, until we remember that Giocondo's measurements of the actual basilica of Maxentius were consistently about 20% too large when using the standard conversion to meters. If we subtract 20% of 20.55, or 4.11, we get 16.44m, which is quite close to the architect's rounded figure of 16m.[141] When we take into consideration the unstandardized nature of the measurements in our Renaissance drawings, the agreement

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[137] For the remains of the monastery discovered in excavations, see Castagnoli 1983, 95.

[138] These excavated columns are marked on Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae* and are put not in the middle of the street but in a building to the south. This may be due to his map showing the street before it was widened. He also gives a note in this position that reads "Ligorio Tor. XV.232", which I take to be a reference to the manuscripts of Pirro Ligorio in Turin, but which I have not been able to check.

[139] Tucci 1993, 239–41, with fig. 19, and for the excavation reports, see *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 1890, 66–8 and 1911, 87–8.

[140] The measurement is given apparently to the centimeter as 16.00m, but all of the other measurements he gives seem to be to the nearest 10cm, so we should treat this as a rounded figure.

[141] If instead we were to use the adjustment factor from Giocondo's measurement of the west bay of the north aisle of the basilica (22.834 ÷ 29.712 = 0.77), then we would get an even closer figure: 20.55 × 0.77 = 15.8m

is good. The position of the columns is also correct: Tucci points out that they lie on the same line as that described by the columns along the front of the Portico of Octavia.[142] This can be confirmed from satellite imagery: a line drawn across the surviving columns of the south face of the Portico of Octavia and continued westward to a point just before Via della Reginella runs parallel to the houses on Via del Portico d'Ottavia about 6 meters to their south, in the middle of the street, which is just about where Marchetti located the excavation.[143] The Marble Plan tells us that the porticoes of Octavia and Philippus were aligned at the front, so we may guess that these column bases belonged to the front elevation of the Portico of Philippus.[144] It is therefore plausible that Marchetti excavated the base of roughly the same part of the colonnade seen by Giuliano and Giocondo (number 19 on Fig. 74).

What of the other side of the portico, the arcade shown by Giuliano? Castagnoli investigated ancient remains embedded in a basement wall of a building on the north side of Via del Portico d'Ottavia.[145] The substructure has a wider part that seems to have been designed to accommodate a column or pillar. There are two columns embedded in the wall, but not in their original positions, so we cannot use them to get the distance between columns. There is only one wider part in the exposed portion of the wall, so we cannot compare its spacing with the spacing of the pillars of the arcade on the Renaissance plans. Marchetti gives the distance of the columns from the houses on the north side of the street as 6.5m, which should thus be roughly the width of the portico, though the underground remains seen by Castagnoli are down the street from the 1889 excavations, and the line of modern houses is not exactly parallel with the columns. But the Renaissance plans do not give clear indications of this measurement, and the artists may have not drawn the width to scale, in order to fit it more easily on paper; in particular, Giuliano's plan shows the portico as unfeasibly narrow.[146] Marchetti implies that the excavators left the column bases *in situ* in the middle of the road and routed the drain around it, and Castagnoli says that it was once possible to see more ex-

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[142] Tucci 1993, 239–40, and see also Castagnoli 1983, 99; by contrast, the columns are put outside the boundary of the Portico of Philippus in the plan of Gatti 1989, 177, Fig. 10.

[143] Confirmed via Google Earth, version 6.0.3.2197. Note that this procedure presumes that the columns of the surviving Severan structure were along the same line as its Augustan predecessor. Marchetti gives a distance of 6.5 meters from the houses: Tucci 1993, Fig. 19.

[144] This corresponds to the line on the Marble Plan which would run down the middle of the Via del Portico d'Ottavia: see fig. 73. It has already been strongly argued by Gros 1976, 82 that the Augustan porticoes on the north side of the Circus Flaminius must have presented a uniform, open colonnade.

[145] Castagnoli 1983, 93–4 with figs. 3 and 4.

[146] The width is labelled on Giocondo's plan with a "p" for *palmi* and then a symbol: a "5" or an "S" with dots before and after. As drawn, the width seems to be about 9 *palmi*, which would be quite narrow and considerably less than the distance between the side of the street and the excavations in the middle, but the plan may have been narrowed for convenience.

tensive remains in the basements of houses on Via del Portico d'Ottavia.[147] This suggests that it might be possible to define the two sides of the southern arm of the Portico of Philippus by means of a relatively inexpensive and minimally invasive archaeological investigation.[148]

So far, we have found very good agreement between the Renaissance drawings and the findings of archaeology. The picture becomes less clear when we turn back to the Marble Plan, for our interpretation of the remains suggests that the Plan contains not one type of error but two. The first, and easiest to justify, is that it shows a blank wall on the south aspect toward the Circus Flaminius where we have postulated a colonnade. This seems a routine and unproblematic simplification. More difficult to justify is the fact that the north side of the Plan, if we connect it with the other evidence, seems to show the portico inside-out. In other words, we could read the dotted squares (numbers 14 and 17 on Fig. 74) as showing an arcade joining large piers, and the inner row of more closely spaced dots (numbers 15 and 18 on Fig. 74) as showing the colonnade. But this puts the arcade on the outside and the colonnade on the inside, which is the opposite of what Giuliano's drawing and the excavations lead us to expect. If the excavated colonnade corresponded to the inner side of the portico, the arcade side would under the buildings on the south side of the street. This would mean that the precise alignment between the porticoes of Philippus and Octavia as shown on the Plan is in error. So we would have to explain the excavated columns as belonging to some other structure, such as the *porticus maxima*.[149]

Until we have further archaeological data, it seems wisest to rely on the clear fact identified by Tucci, that the excavated colonnade basis seems to be precisely aligned with the colonnade of the southern side of the Portico of Octavia, which strongly suggests that it was the south-facing facade, as shown by the mutual alignment of the porticoes on the Plan. Tucci also notes that the intercolumnar spacing of the excavated colonnade is the same as for the Portico of Octavia, which gives further evidence of the coordinated planning of the three Augustan family porticoes which defined the north side of the Circus Flaminius.[150] This implies that Giuliano's drawing shows the south elevation of the monument from the outside, looking north, which is as we would expect: the colonnade is on the outside and the arcade is on the inside. We are then left without an explanation of the dotted squares on the north side of the Plan. But since these do not run around the cir-

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[147] Tucci 1993, 241 and Castagnoli 1983, 94.

[148] This could also clarify an apparent discrepancy in the depth below street level of the two sets of remains; it is not clear if the plans of Marchetti and Castagnoli are measuring from the same point of reference.

[149] The excavation reports have a confused mention of a granite column being found, which would be post-Augustan, but given the vagueness of the information and the unreliability of the reports, it seems likely that this was an interloper from a later phase. Otherwise, the reports are of tufa foundations topped by a travertine strip on which were placed marble column bases.

[150] Tucci 1993, 241.

cumference of the portico, it would in any case be problematic to identify them as the piers of the arcade.

There is one more feature of the Renaissance drawings which needs to be explained. Giuliano's plan shows a wall abutting the rightmost column, which extends down to the end of the sheet. This is also visible in his elevation, at the right side of the drawing, where we can see that the end of it is carefully finished, so it is not a fragment, but a very short wall. In our reconstruction, this fits very well as the left side of the main entrance into the Circus Flaminius, which must have been at the center of the southern part of the portico.[151] There is a gap in the Marble Plan where it would have shown this, probably by a simple break in the line marking the southern side of the portico (number 20 on Fig. 74). If this is right, we can identify quite precisely what part of the building is shown by Giuliano: the southern elevation just to the left of the central entrance.

Now that we have reconstructed the Portico of Philippus as an elevated double portico, open on both sides, with an arcade on the inside and a colonnade on the outside, we may wonder where all the art that Pliny tells us about was displayed. There would have been plenty of space for statuary but no walls on which to hang paintings. We might imagine that it was not open all the way around, but it seems simpler to look to the innermost ring of dots, which are not aligned with the outer ring. If, as we have speculated, these indicate not trees, but a portico on the lower level, then we have a perfect place for the display of paintings against the inner wall of the high portico, under the roof of the inner portico.

Before we leave the topography of the Portico of Philippus, we should glance at the later history of the buildings on the site. Records indicate that this was probably the location of a monastery from early in the medieval period.[152] The present-day monastery of Sant'Ambrogio della Massima has a number of artifacts from the medieval phase of the building in its possession, and medieval structures were brought to light by the recent excavations in the courtyard.[153] The epithet *della Massima* has been explained in a number of ways, but by far the most plausible guess is that it is a toponym derived from the nearby *porticus Maxima*. This was part of the route which would have led pilgrims to the Basilica of St Peter, which, as we have seen, ran along the via del Portico di Ottavia. The existing buildings of the monastery were erected primarily in 1568, having been designed by Giacomo della Porta; further work, including rebuilding the church, was undertaken in 1606, probably by Carlo Maderno.[154] The most conspicuous feature of della Porta's monastery is a cloister surrounding a courtyard, the outlines of which can be seen in fig. 73, where it is a dark grey area that surrounds the site of the Fulvian

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[151] If we prefer the inside-out reconstruction, this would have to be a stairway down into the interior, lower level.

[152] Danti 1992, 50–4.

[153] On the excavations, see Gianfrotta 1985, 378.

[154] On the history of the Renaissance buildings, see Gurisatti and Picchi 1982.

circular temple. Today the cloister is split in two parts: the south and west sides are used by the municipal government of Rome to house various offices and community groups, and a group of Benedictine monks occupies the north and east sides.[155]

Figure 80: Left, detail of fig. 77; right, a fragment of an older building embedded in the stairway of a municipal building which was once part of the Renaissance monastery on the site of the Portico of Philippus; author's photograph.

The entrance at number 4, via di Sant'Ambrogio, provides access to the municipal offices housed in the former cloister. It leads immediately to a large stairway, in the walls of which are embedded architectural fragments of an older structure. These vary somewhat in form, but are of a fairly uniform style. They are of a grey tufaceous stone, which appears to have been pricked to provide a key for plaster to stick to. What makes these bits of architectural salvage interesting is the curiously precise similarity they display to the architraves of the structure drawn by Giuliano and Giocondo. Figure 80 shows one of these objects side-by-side with one of Giocondo's details. The correspondence between the fragment and the lower part of the entablature in the drawing is remarkably close. The one difference is that, where Giocondo shows a convex curve just below the large flat surface near

the top, the stone is concave. This could simply be due to the Renaissance architect improving his model, or to the stone being a less expertly executed version of that model. Some of the other fragments in the stairway do not exhibit such a close match, but they are of a similar general style, with articulated corners. This feature is clearly the result of the nature of the rear arches as shown in Giuliano's drawing (fig. 76): they are barrel vaults in which the ends are stepped to a slightly larger radius. To match, the architrave supporting the ends of the vaults needed to have not a simple right angle at the corners but a corner with a notch taken out of it. Most of the embedded fragments display this feature, and the vaulting in the present structure makes some use of it, thus displaying a distant affinity with aspects of the ancient structure as drawn by Giuliano.

None of this is meant to imply that these stone fragments go back to the Augustan structure. Augustus boasted to have turned Rome into a city of marble, not of stucco-faced tufa.[156] It is true that plaster imitation of marble was used on the wall found under the porch of the church, but that was facing a narrow service-alley between the Porticoes of Philippus and Octavia (number 12 on Fig. 74) where it would have been wasteful to use large amounts of precious materials; and even there there was probably a course of marble skirting at the bottom.[157] We would expect marble used for the eye-catching architectural elements of the Portico of Philippus. The crudity of the carving also indicates a later date, and it seems likely that these fragments belong to the late medieval phase of the monastery. The medieval structures may well have incorporated fragments of the classical structure, just as the Renaissance one did for the medieval structure. Since parts of the Augustan structure were still standing, they might well have influenced the design of the medieval buildings. It is also possible that parts of the Augustan portico were still standing when the late Renaissance buildings of the monastery were erected. This would explain why there seem to be distant quotations of elements of the design of the Augustan building present at the site today.

The Collegium Poetarum

We turn now from the physical fabric of Fulvius' temple and Philippus' portico to a slightly different question. In order to understand fully the meaning of the Augustan monument, it will be necessary to examine what the temple was used for. One important use, I will argue, was as the headquarters and meeting place of the guild of poets at Rome, which explains why it would be a place of particular importance for them, quite apart from the symbolic and religious significance of the Muses. In renovating this structure, therefore, Augustus was sending a particular message to that group: a message of support but also a declaration of his

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[156] Excavations found that the walls of the medieval monastery were of tufa with traces of whitewash: Gianfrotta 1985, 378.

[157] Gianfrotta 1985, 383.

expectations. The following chapter will document some of the textual responses of those poets.

The first point to note is that, although we may speak of the Portico of Philippus in a loose sense as the Museum of Augustus, in that it was the *de facto* home of the Muses in Rome, Augustus clearly had no plans to set up an official institution for scholars equivalent to the Alexandrian Museum. He did have a literary program of Ptolemaic ambition, but was careful to integrate it into the traditional Roman pattern of aristocratic patronage which had been established by men like Fulvius and Ennius. Augustus' attention to renovating Fulvius' structure was therefore an important signal of his intent to provide indirect but clearly visible support to its poets, yet to work within the established institutions of Roman literary culture. The evidence for the guild of poets, or *collegium poetarum*, and its connection with the Temple of Hercules Musarum is scattered and seems contradictory, as with the foundation of Fulvius' temple, so it had been the subject of considerable scholarly debate. Nevertheless, we can draw some inferences about the uses to which the *collegium* put the temple.[158]

Many treatments of the *collegium* have focussed on the disparities and discontinuities in the evidence. Our sources speak at first of a *collegium scribarum histrionumque*, at a later date of a *collegium poetarum*, and still later of a *collegium scribarum poetarum*. Are these the same *collegia* or different? In the most recent review of the evidence, Caldelli treats them as separate and emphasizes that there is no positive evidence for presuming they are the same.[159] On the other hand, there is something odd about the idea that different *collegia* with almost the same but slightly different names and with overlapping memberships kept appearing and disappearing throughout Roman history.[160] I think it is a more economical hypothesis to posit a single institution that made small changes to its name and its meeting-place as it evolved over the centuries in an effort to improve its image. These changes were driven by the initially low social status of poets and scribes and their efforts to ameliorate that condition. Other scholars may prefer to imagine separate *collegia*, and that would not make an enormous difference to the overall argument of this book, provided that the reader accepts that there was an important practical connection between the poets of Rome, their professional association(s) and the Temple of Hercules Musarum.

The reason the history of the *collegium* has proved so contentious is, I believe,

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[158] This discussion is based on the valuable survey of Horsfall 1976, but comes to very different conclusions. See also Tamm 1961, White 1993, 54–9, Badian 1972, 187–95, Gruen 1996, 86–90 and Coarelli 1997, 463–73.

[159] Caldelli 2012, 135–6.

[160] Jory 1970, 233–4 expressed skepticism that the Livian *collegium scribarum histrionum* could be the same thing as the *collegium poetarum* mentioned by Valerius, and this hyper-skeptical approach was elaborated by Horsfall 1976. On the implausibility of this reconstruction, see Gruen 1996, 90, n. 46.

that our first piece of evidence is given a misleading interpretation by the source which preserves it. The foundation of the *collegium* is attested in a passage where Festus (p. 333 Lindsay) preserves valuable information about an honor granted to Livius Andronicus, whereby clerks (*scribae*) and actors (*histriones*) were given the right to meet and to make offerings in the Temple of Minerva on the Aventine. It has been demonstrated that this passage probably reflects the wording of a *senatusconsultum* of around 207–200 BC which provided for the establishment of a *collegium* for such professions.[161] The strange thing is that Livius himself was not a clerk and only incidentally an actor. We expect this to be a *collegium* for literary writers, especially since the honor was granted in return for a hymn written by Livius. Festus, or his source, Verrius Flaccus, therefore inferred that the word *scriba* must originally have meant not clerk but writer more generally. This is possible, but it runs against all other evidence for the word *scriba*, which never entails creative writing but always refers to documentary writing. This erroneous inference by Festus or Verrius has tended to start discussions of the *collegium poetarum* on the wrong track.

In spite of Festus' interpretation, it seems more likely that Livius, who acted in his own plays, was included by the Senate under the heading of *histrio*, not *scriba*; thus *scribae* here simply means clerks, as always in Latin.[162] It is not surprising that the senate deliberately eschewed the high-sounding Grecism *poeta* here, regardless of what the writers in the guild would have preferred to be called. The honor to Livius concealed a carefully-calibrated snub, for the Senate made it clear that the *collegium* was not designed to elevate literary activities but to keep writers and actors on the level of performers and minor functionaries. The elliptical designation of the *collegium* would not have been a practical problem, for all professional poets in early Rome were by necessity also playwrights. The senate would have been equally unconcerned about fine distinctions between playwrights and actors, which in any case was largely non-existent in early theatrical ensembles.

Our next information comes from an anecdote of Valerius Maximus (3.7.11) about a meeting of a *collegium poetarum* attended by the playwright Accius and the amateur tragedian Julius Caesar Strabo Vopiscus. The aged and famous Accius, who was the son of a freedman, refused to stand to greet this patrician visitor, on the grounds that in this literary forum he was the more distinguished figure. This pride is reflected in the change of the guild's name, introducing the more elevated title of *poeta*. The actors (*histriones*), members of an incorrigibly disreputable pro-

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[161] Jory 1970, 226–7, Horsfall 1976, 79.

[162] As Horsfall 1976, 80 rightly says, "The terms of the *senatusconsultum* need not have referred to the authors by a designation which they would themselves have chosen"; but he is misled by Festus into thinking that the Senate designated the poets as *scribae*. If we prefer to credit Festus' information, then the argument below could still stand, but it would have to be modified to imagine that in Livius' day the word *scriba* could mean both clerk and poet, and that the word *poetarum* was simply added to the name of the *collegium* when that was no longer true.

fession, were no longer welcome as members; they went on to develop their own guilds.[163] This reflected the increasing specialization of labor and pride in the role of the playwright, who was no longer an actor who happened to write. Probably the name in this period was *collegium scribarum poetarum*, though that name is only attested later. It is far simpler to assume that Valerius is using a shortened form when he calls it the *collegium poetarum*, rather than to suppose that *scribae* temporarily disappeared from the name of Livius' *collegium*, only to be reinserted again in the Augustan age, or to suppose a multiplicity of overlapping *collegia*.

Unfortunately, Valerius does not tell us where this meeting happened, but Pliny the Elder tells us that Accius, who was of diminutive stature, set up a massive statue of himself *in Camenarum aede*.[164] Since there is good evidence from a later period that the meetings of the *collegium* came to be held in the Temple of Hercules Musarum, this must be a reference to that temple, though it has sometimes been denied.[165] We may therefore infer that the *collegium* moved its seat from the Temple of Minerva to Fulvius' temple before the death of Accius. Livius' guild had been granted the right to make dedications (*dona ponere*) in the Temple of Minerva, and this right would surely have passed to the Temple of Hercules Musarum when the *collegium* moved. Accius took advantage of that privilege or, rather, abused it. Both anecdotes imply that Accius' vanity was considered excessive, but even so the prickly pride of this son of a freedman testifies to ongoing efforts by poets and scribes to elevate their status.

What was the occasion on which the writers and clerks switched from the patronage of Minerva to that of the Muses? The most natural assumption is that this occurred immediately after the new temple was inaugurated, and that it was designed in part with this purpose in mind.[166] If we may presume that Fulvius was a patron of the *collegium*, he would have been responsible for securing the Senate's approval for the transfer of its meeting-place. In moving its seat, the organization made a bid to distinguish itself from the more humble trade guilds which were associated with the cult of Minerva.[167] Ennius may or may not have been a member of the humble *collegium*, but he was clearly in full sympathy with Fulvius' efforts to raise the profile of the Muses at Rome; Ennius was also a crucial figure in efforts to raise the status of poets from hirelings to lower-status friends of the elite.[168] It is therefore fully in keeping with the Fulvian/Ennian project that the Temple of Hercules Musarum was designed as a new home for the poets of Rome as well as for the Muses. The government clerks who made up the other part of the membership of the guild were upwardly mobile to a similar degree. They were

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[163] Thus Badian 1972, 190–1, n. 2; see also Jory 1970, 237–53.
[164] On the history of the statue, see Cancik 1969, 324–5.
[165] See Martina 1981, 52 with n. 19.
[166] Badian 1972, 189.
[167] See Ovid, *Fasti* 3.821–34.
[168] See Gildenhard 2003, 109–11.

often ambitious freedmen, and by the late Republic, *scribae*, like poets, were often drawn from a near-equestrian, freeborn milieu.[169]

Valerius makes it clear that Caesar Strabo did not belong in the gathering of this guild and that his presence required an improvisational etiquette.[170] It is implied that he attended more than once, for Accius "never" stood up for him, but the tenor of the anecdote presumes that he was an occasional visitor rather than a regular member of the *collegium*. The fact that he came back implies that Strabo accepted in good humor Accius' claim that, as a poet, he was junior in status; this further implies that he was attending as a tragedian, not a patron.[171] The anecdote documents the aspirational social status of the *collegium*; the guild of cobblers presumably never faced the puzzle over how to greet patrician guests who were there as fellow practitioners rather than as patrons. Nevertheless, our evidence points to membership which continued to be dominated by ambitious freedmen and their sons.[172]

The continuing existence of the *collegium* is confirmed by an inscription probably from the late Republican or early Augustan period.[173] This records the career of a freedman named P. Cornelius Surus who held a number of very responsible civil-service posts, including *mag[ister] scr[ibarum] poetar[um]*, or head of the guild of clerks and poets.[174] If we presume that Valerius wrote *collegium poetarum* as shorthand for *collegium scribarum poetarum*, then we have evidence for the continuing existence of the same institution. It may seem surprising that clerks and poets continued to share the same guild as they did in the day of Livius Andronicus, but it was probably a mutually beneficial arrangement. It may have started because the Senate contemptuously lumped clerks together with poets/actors as low-status but literate professionals, but once the actors were diverted into their own guild, clerks and poets shared a similar aspiration to respectability. The fame of poets will have brought cachet to the *collegium*, but the clerks probably brought organizational ability, something poets are not well known for. From his career, Surus was clearly a clerk rather than a poet, and one can imagine that the poets left the business end of running the guild to men like him, while the clerks left the recitations to the poets. Members who came under both headings were probably rare, though we may now turn to the case of one man who did.

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[169] See Purcell 1983, esp. 142–6 and Badian 1989.

[170] *contra* Horsfall 1976, 82.

[171] Badian 1972, 190 rightly sees that the anecdote implies that Caesar attended more than once, but draws the incorrect conclusion that he was a patron of the *collegium*; if that were true, Accius' behavior really would have been intolerable.

[172] For a different perspective on this paradoxical aspect of the evidence, see Gruen 1996, 90.

[173] For the inscription, see More 1975 and Panciera 1986. It refers to the "stone theater", which dates it securely to the period when the Theater of Pompey was the only such structure; see Panciera 1986, 38–9 and *contra* Horsfall 1976, 88. It is unclear what event in the Theater of Pompey Surus was responsible for: Panciera 1986, 40.

[174] On the asyndeton, see Horsfall 1976, 89-90.

The major poets of the Augustan period were mainly from the equestrian class and did not practice writing as a trade, so we should not imagine them as joining the *collegium*. On the other hand, if one of the Julii, the most blue-blooded family in Rome, could attend events as a guest, then surely an equestrian could, too. The equestrian Martial was a regular visitor, as we will see in a moment. We know relatively little about the world of booksellers and the *collegium*, for poets were more interested in advertising themselves as part of the aristocratic literary milieu that surrounded the major patrons. But this more humble world must also have formed part of their life, and all the more so for writers who could not count on invitations to the houses of Pollio, Messala and Maecenas. The major exception to the rule of Augustan poets coming from the equestrian class is Horace, and it is no surprise that it is he who gives us the most information about the *collegium*. As a young man he had an upper-class education, but the fact that his father was a wealthy freedman meant that he belonged just as easily in the world of the *collegium*. In fact, after Philippi, when he lost part of his inheritance, he bought a post as a clerk, a *scriba quaestorius*, which meant that he qualified for membership under both headings of membership: *scriba* and *poeta*. There were various *collegia* associated with different corporations (*decuriae*) of *scribae*, so we cannot be sure that our college is the one Horace belonged to, but it is surely the most likely candidate. Horace continued to be a member of the college even after his poetic success, when he will have rented out his scribal post out to another man.[175] Thus, when he complains of returning from his Sabine farm to the city and being hassled by the *scribae* to attend to urgent business of mutual concern (*Sat.* 2.6.36–7), we may suppose that he is speaking of someone very like Surus.

The first Horatian passage which has been linked to poetic activities in the Temple of Hercules Musarum is from the first book of *Satires* (1.10.37–9):

> haec ego ludo,
> quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa
> nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.
>
> I play at these trifles, which are not the sort of thing to ring out as they compete in the temple in front of Tarpa as judge, nor return again and again to be seen in the theaters.

Cicero tells us that this Spurius Maecius Tarpa had been appointed by Pompey the Great to decide what plays should be put on in his new theater; it has been suggested plausibly that he was chosen because he was the head (*magister*) of the *collegium poetarum*.[176] He appears here and again in Horace's *Ars Poetica* (387) as a quasi-proverbial literary judge. Horace imagines that the contestants ring out their bombastic verses before him in a temple, which the scholia of Porphyry identify as

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[175] Badian 1989, 590–1, 602–3.
[176] Shackleton Bailey 1988, 66, n. 127 *ad* Cic. *Fam* 7.1.1.

"the temple of the Muses, where poets used to recite their poems". These scholia are not infallible, but there is little reason to doubt the information here.[177] If the temple was the meeting-place of the *collegium* of poets, it is not a surprising development that recitations and competitions came to be held there.

This is the last reference to poets making use of the Temple of Hercules Musarum before its restoration by Philippus and the construction of the Temple of Palatine Apollo, which happened only a few years after the publication of Horace's first book of *Satires*. Subsequent references tend to treat those two places as a unit. In the second book of Horace's *Epistles*, he looks back to an earlier day and another competition between poets. Horace does battle against an unnamed rival, who, as I have argued elsewhere, must certainly have been Propertius.[178] Once again, the setting of the poetic competition is a temple (*Epist.* 2.2.91–4):

> carmina compono, hic elegos: mirabile visu
> caelatumque novem Musis opus. adspice primum,
> quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-
> spectemus vacuam Romanis vatibus aedem
>
> I compose lyrics, he elegies: ah, how brilliant! – a work embellished by the nine Muses. First, look at the arrogance and gravity with which we look around us to inspect the temple just waiting for Roman poets.

Interestingly, the scholia are in contradiction over the identification of this temple: pseudo-Acro says it was the temple of Apollo, while the slightly more reliable Porphyrio says it was the temple of the Muses. This dispute has continued into the present day. Horace elsewhere notes the relative emptiness of the Latin side of the Palatine Library, and some scholars take the present passage as another reference to that lack.[179] Others, starting with Bentley, have seen the mention of the nine Muses as a clear allusion to the Temple of Hercules Musarum. The goddesses participate in a metaphor whereby the work of the poets is compared to engraved, three-dimensional art, which makes us think of the physical representations of the Muses that Fulvius had brought back from Ambracia. Since he has put us in mind of sculpture, perhaps, in addition to the metaphorical sense, we ought to remember that very real and massive statue of Accius. It must not have been the only memorial for a poet in the temple. Especially after Philippus' renovation of the space, there must have been room for more such honorific statues. Horace thus combines a metaphorical picture of the Palatine Library having room for more books with a literal picture of the Portico of Philippus, Rome's Museum, having room for more statues of poets. Both of the scholiasts and both sides of the scholarly debate have an equal point. Horace has created a picture of a hybrid Museum/Library as the setting for a literary squabble, a Roman version of the Mu-

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[177] The skepticism of White 1993, 290–1, n. 55 is excessive.
[178] Heslin 2011, 66–8.
[179] See Horsfall 1976, 83–4 and Brink 1963–82, vol. 3, 321–2.

seum/Library in Alexandria, the squawking "birdcage of the Muses," renowned for such squabbles.[180]

This is not the last time we will encounter a scholarly debate over whether a metaliterary passage of Augustan poetry refers to the Temple of Apollo or Hercules Musarum. These debates have continued to fester because of the existence of plausible evidence on both sides. What needs to be understood, however, is that after 28 BC the Augustan poets tended to view these two buildings as a conceptual unity, despite their separation in space, constituting two halves of the Museum/Library complex which was the architectural symbol of Augustus' encouragement and support for literary culture. In practice, literary gatherings might well have happened in either place, and the ambiguity of Horace's picture of the temple in which he faced off against Propertius was surely calculated.

There are a few references in the early Imperial period to what is probably the same *collegium*. Martial twice refers to the *schola poetarum*, using the normal term for a meeting-place of a *collegium*.[181] In the first passage, he is imagining the possible activities of Canius Rufus, a friend with literary interests; one possibility is that he is speaking in the *schola poetarum*, where the language suggests that he is reciting Catullan-style poetry of his own composition (3.20.8–11):

> An otiosus in schola poetarum
> lepore tinctos Attico sales narrat?
> hinc si recessit, porticum terit templi
> an spatia carpit lentus Argonautarum?

> Is he at leisure, reciting in the poets' clubhouse with Attic elegance and wit?
> If he leaves there, does he walk in the portico of the temple or slowly stroll
> in the portico of the Argonauts?

The transmitted text says that when Canius leaves the *schola* he walks through the "portico of the temple". Many editors have concluded that the text is corrupt, on the grounds that we need to be told what temple is meant; but no convincing emendation has held sway. But since it must have been well known among readers of poetry that the meeting-place of the *collegium poetarum* was the Temple of Hercules Musarum, this is an unambiguous reference to the Portico of Philippus that surrounded it and the text is sound.[182] In another epigram, the *schola poetarum* is simply the location for a chat between Martial and a friend (4.61.3). This does not necessarily imply that the equestrian Martial was a member of the *collegium*; it was a place where one could pass time in literary company.

Juvenal brings many of these threads together in an offhand reference to the temple of the Muses in his satire on the depraved state of literary patronage in his

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[180] Another Horatian passage that juxtaposes the Palatine library with the Muses is *Ep*. 2.1.216–8, where Helicon may be associated with the Palatine: Goldberg 2005, 203.
[181] Horsfall 1976, 87, White 1993, 55.
[182] See Fusi 2006, 218–19.

day. He warns a young poet that, if he leaves "the temples of the Muses and of Apollo" to cultivate a wealthy patron, he will find that his benefactor is a cheapskate, providing a tumble-down shack as a place to give a recital.[183] We can observe, first of all, that for Juvenal the Temples of Hercules Musarum and Palatine Apollo are still yoked together as a Museum/Library unit to represent the bygone glory days of literary patronage under Augustus. Secondly, the young poet is making an effort to move beyond the *collegium poetarum*, to break into the more rarefied world of aristocratic patronage. Unfortunately, this is no longer the Augustan age, so he will find this world of private patronage no better, or perhaps even worse, than what he has come from. The third implication is therefore that the young poet, before seeking out a private patron, would regularly have recited at the Temple of Hercules Musarum or perhaps the Palatine Library, under the auspices of the *collegium*.

We have now heard about a variety of different literary activities which were likely to have occurred at the temple: meetings, recitations, contests. Alongside these there were also presumably the normal activities of guilds, such as sacrificing, banqueting, networking and activities of mutual assistance and insurance.[184] Despite all these activities, there was clearly an enormous gulf between it and the Museum at Alexandria. The skepticism about the *collegium* that has frequently been voiced by scholars has to do with misguided efforts to turn it into a grand literary salon.[185] There was no endowment to support scholars working on official literary projects. It was a very Roman institution. It worked within the norms of Roman culture: a guild which benefited from the particular patronage of aristocratic Romans like Fulvius and Philippus. So, when we call it a "Museum", it must be admitted that this name can be misleading in two ways: to suggest a larger level of centralized support for literature than was ever the case at Rome, and to imply that it was, on the level of cult, a temple of the Muses rather than a shrine in which they were honored guests. Nevertheless, it is precisely this hostility to the overt forms of a major Greek institution that makes it so quintessentially Roman. The refurbishment of the Temple of Hercules Musarum was a gesture that the poets of Rome surely appreciated, but it was only one project among dozens of Augustan temple renovations. The separation of the "Museum" from the Library and the ruler's residence was at the same time an indication not to take the Alexandrian analogy too far. There would be support for literary culture in Augustan Rome, but indirectly. In the face of this separation, the tendency of the poets to conflate the Portico of Philippus and the Temple of Palatine Apollo seems to be not only a convenient shorthand but also a wish that Augustan literary patronage

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[183] "Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta," 7.37.

[184] For an overview of scholarship on Roman *collegia* in general, see J. S. Perry 2011; for the *collegia*, see MacMullen 1974, 73–80 and Diosono 2007; for theoretical models, see Liu 2009, 1–28 and J. S. Perry 2006, 1–18.

[185] See e.g. White 1993, 58 and Horsfall 1976, 85.

should emulate that of Alexandria. The precise nature of the message sent to the poets in the *collegium* by the renovation of their meeting place will be discussed just after the next section.

The Art in the Portico

Now that we have established what we can about the architecture and function of the sanctuary, we may turn to the works of art contained in it. What we would most like to see, of course, is an indication of what the cycle of paintings of the Trojan War by Theorus looked like. But there is no direct evidence for that at all. Hence the effort made, in the first four chapters of this book, to reconstruct in as much detail as possible, the decorative scheme of the portico of the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii. Nevertheless, it will still be useful to catalog the works of art installed in the temple and portico, in order to get a better sense of the ideological function of the entire complex.

In the first place, the sanctuary was the home of many works of sculpture. We have seen that Accius installed a grandiose statue of himself there, and we may suppose that there were memorials to other poets as well. The quantity of booty carried off by Fulvius from Ambracia became a scandal, and it is possible that much of it was displayed in the temple. The most symbolically important part of that booty was, of course, the representations of Hercules and the Muses for which the temple was named:[186]

> [Zeuxis] fecit et figlina opera, quae sola in Ambracia relicta sunt, cum inde Musas Fulvius Nobilior Romam transferret. Zeuxidis manu Romae Helena est in Philippi porticibus, et in Concordiae delubro Marsyas religatus.
>
> Zeuxis also made works in terracotta, which alone were left in Ambracia when Fulvius Nobilior transported the Muses from there to Rome. At Rome by the hand of Zeuxis is the *Helen* in the Portico of Philippus, and *Marsyas Bound* in the Temple of Concord.

We shall come back to the Helen of Zeuxis in the next section; here we will focus on the Muses. The first thing to be admitted is that Pliny tells us nothing at all for certain about these objects. He is speaking of Zeuxis and mentions some other kind of work in clay, whether sculptures or painted pottery; the Muses are only mentioned in passing.[187] He does not say that they were by Zeuxis and he does not even say that they were statues. In fact, none of our sources explicitly say that they were statues, and it has been suggested that they might have been paintings instead.[188] On the whole, though, it seems very unlikely that they were paintings, as we would expect someone to mention it. It is therefore probable that these were

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[186] Pliny, *NH* 35.66; on the scandal, see Livy 38.43–4.

[187] On the Zeuxis terracottas, see the interesting comment of Rawson in Astin et al. 1989, 441.

[188] Martina 1981, 49–50.

statues by an unknown hand and that the Hercules became the cult statue of the new temple.

Figure 81: Denarius of Q. Pomponius Musa, 66 BC.

To get a sense of what the statues of the Muses looked like, we have two potential sources of evidence. The first is a series of coins minted by a certain Q. Pomponius Musa in 66 BC, who made a pun on his name. Nine of the ten *denarii* have Apollo on one side and on the other each of the nine Muses with their various attributes; the final coin has an image of Hercules playing the lyre which is labeled Hercules Musarum (fig. 81).[189] It has been argued against the coins that they show a jumble of different sculptural styles which are unlikely to come from a unified Ambracian monument.[190] The other possible source of evidence for the statues comes from a series of Arretine terra sigillata molds and fragments of the Augustan period, which show Muses of a different appearance and a figure carrying a club rather than a lyre, labelled Heracles of the Muses (ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΜΟΣΩΝ). The problem with the Arretine fragments is that they show an actor with a mask representing the figure of Heracles on stage rather than the god himself. It has therefore been suggested that the Ambracian monument was actually a choragic monument or a dedication by an actor with personifications of Comedy, Tragedy and so forth, rather than the Muses.[191] The problem here is that it requires thinking the Romans were happy to treat a statue of actor playing the role of Hercules as if it represented the god himself.[192] Furthermore, Ovid, in the passage of the *Fasti* discussed above, implies fairly strongly that the cult statue of Hercules was hold-

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[189] Crawford 1974, 437–9.

[190] Marabini Moeus 1981, 12–14 and Ridgway 1990, 247.

[191] Marabini Moeus 1981, 42–4 and Ridgway 1990, 247–52; *contra* Ritter 1995, 181–7.

[192] This would be completely impossible for the cult statue, so this hypothesis presumably requires Fulvius to add this group to a separate cult statue or to a preexisting temple of Hercules.

ing a lyre, as on the coin.[193] Either way, the evidence points to Fulvius willfully creating the group of Hercules and the Muses, either by combining an eclectic set of Ambracian statues to create an ad-hoc group of Muses or by willfully misreading a theatrical monument. This emphasizes that his introduction of the Muses to Rome was part of a deliberate strategy, rather than the accidental byproduct of the nature of the statues he happened to appropriate.[194] Their fame seems to have been due not so much to their artistic merits as to the symbolic role they came to play in Greek culture. Fulvius' act of capturing the Greek Muses and hauling them back to Rome becomes a metaphor for Rome's usurpation of the role of the cultural center of the Mediterranean.

In addition to sculptures brought from Ambracia by Fulvius, which may well have been more numerous than the Muses and Hercules, there were, of course, paintings in the Portico of Philippus. Pliny tells us about three artists represented there: Theorus, who painted the Trojan cycle; Zeuxis, whose masterpiece *Helen* was placed there; and Antiphilus, who was represented by paintings of Bacchus, Alexander as a boy and Hippolytus fearing the approach of the bull.[195] It is worth noting that Pliny does not say whether these were part of the original Augustan conception or placed there later, but it seems reasonably safe to assume that they were original. The Trojan cycle would probably have been fairly extensive, so it is hard to imagine that it was appended as an afterthought. The *Helen* is, of course, closely linked with the Trojan theme. Furthermore, Valerius Maximus discussed the painting soon after the Augustan age, but did not say where it was to be found; nevertheless, the fact that he mentions it almost immediately after telling the story of Accius and the meeting of the *collegium poetarum* might suggest that he already knew it at the Portico of Philippus. The works of Antiphilus seem to be linked to works of his displayed in the Portico of Octavia next door, including a family portrait of Alexander and Philip.[196] All this indicates that the paintings reported by Pliny were part of the original decor.

The Trojan cycle and the *Helen* are clearly linked by theme, but what of the paintings by Antiphilus? Some scholars have suggested that these paintings extended the Trojan theme to articulate a larger theme of West vs. East in the aftermath of Actium.[197] Bacchus and Alexander are both conquerors of the East, but what of Hippolytus? Ritter argues that Phaedra's stepson, like Antony, was the victim of a crazed woman's desire, but it is most unlikely that Antony would have

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[193] Marabini Moeus 1981, 7–8 argues that Martial (5.49) depicts a potentially violent Hercules in this same temple, but his club is not mentioned there, and it is not a prerequisite for violence.

[194] It is, strictly speaking, uncertain whether the cult statue of the lyre-playing Hercules also came from Ambracia, but it is a plausible assumption. On Heracles and the lyre, see Boardman in *LIMC* 4.1.810–17, s.v. "Herakles".

[195] Pliny, *NH* 35.66, 114, 144.

[196] Pliny, *NH* 35.114. See Celani 1998, 162.

[197] See Ritter 1995, 133–4, and some related ideas were suggested independently by Poulle 2007, 38–9.

been equated with the chaste and innocent Hippolytus.[198] Even more problematic is the interpretation of the Trojan War as an East-West struggle, for in Rome the Trojans were not considered Eastern others. The solution to the problem may be indicated by the Pompeian portico. It had a painting of Bacchus and Silenus as well as a Trojan cycle, just as in Rome. If this were all we knew, we might think it a sign of incoherence. In fact, we know that the painting of Bacchus was in a separate room off the Trojan portico in Pompeii, so there is no problem of thematic inconsistency. The same situation probably obtained also in Rome. Pliny is simply listing works artist by artist; he is not cataloging monuments topographically. It is entirely possible that the paintings by Antiphilus hung in places where it was immediately clear to viewers that they were peripheral to the main theme. Alternatively, it is possible that the original, Augustan decorative scheme was modified subsequently, and this would explain the presence of paintings which do not fit so well with the Trojan theme.[199]

This brings us to what must have been, if only in sheer numbers, the dominant decorative feature of the Portico of Philippus, the Trojan cycle:[200]

> [pinxit]… Theorus ⟨s⟩e inungentem, idem ab Oreste matrem et Aegisthum interfici, bellumque Iliacum pluribus tabulis, quod est Romae in Philippi porticibus, et Cassandram, quae est in Concordiae delubro, Leontium Epicuri cogitantem, Demetrium regem …

> Theorus painted a man anointing himself (?), Orestes killing his mother and Aegisthus, the Trojan War in many panels, which is at Rome in the Portico of Philippus, and Cassandra, which is in the Temple of Concord, Epicurus' follower Leontion sunk in thought, and Demetrius the king.

Nothing else is known about Theorus, apart from this passing reference in Pliny's catalog. From the list of subjects we can guess that Theorus may have lived around 300 BC, for this is the rough date for Epicurus' female student Leontion; this would fit with a painting of Demetrius Poliorcetes.[201] The obscurity of the name has caused some to want to emend Pliny's text to insert someone more famous here. Theon of Samos, who is the next entry in Pliny's catalog, has been a popular candidate.[202] Another possibility has been mooted that this is a syncopated form of Theodorus, the name associated with the *tabulae Iliacae*.[203] Theodorus can now be eliminated as a possibility, thanks to M. Squire, who has convincingly interpreted the name on the tablets as a pseudonymous reference to an archaic sculptor famed

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[198] Thus Hekster 2004b, 236, n. 14.

[199] For speculation about subsequent modifications by Domitian, see Rodríguez-Almeida 1986.

[200] Pliny, *NH* 35.144.

[201] See Lippold in *RE*, s.v. "Theoros" (2), 2244.37–8.

[202] See P. Moreno in *EAA* s.v. "Theon" (2), Six 1917 and Celani 1998, 163, n. 854.

[203] See Sadurska 1964, 9–10, Valenzuela Montenegro 2004, 350 and Kazansky 1997, 60. For a fuller discussion, see É. Michon in Dar.-Sag. s.v. "Iliacae Tabulae" 3.380.

for working in miniature.[204] In fact, there is no legitimate reason to suspect Pliny's text here; Theorus is a rare but perfectly good name.[205]

In sheer number, the cycle of Trojan paintings must have dominated the Portico, but that does not mean that their artist was necessarily of the first rank. If we are right in seeing the Pompeian portico as having been inspired by pictures from this cycle, we can conclude that he had a gift for the composition of figures and was deeply thoughtful about Homer. We have already noted some motifs and compositional techniques that seem to run through the Pompeian cycle, and the most likely source for these is Theorus.[206] Even though Theorus may not have been one of the great names of Greek painting, the integration of such a large cycle of paintings into an Augustan family monument would have brought its images to a wide public. It participated in and contributed to the general Roman taste for paintings of Homeric subjects.[207] The Temple of Apollo in Pompeii was presumably a relatively close adaptation, but even the *tabulae Iliacae*, which are so different in scale, medium and context, show the influence of Theorus' cycle, presumably alongside other influences which are harder to trace.[208]

Unfortunately, there is little we can say about the Trojan cycle in its original Roman context. We can speculate that it ran around the walls of the inner portico. This would give an overall length of approximately 108m.[209] This is in fact smaller than the space available in the Pompeian portico, where, after subtracting the entrances into the forum (as in fig. 9), we get a total of approximately 150m. Of course, the alternation of piers and niches in the east wall of the Pompeian structure establishes a rather wide spacing for the figural paintings. In Rome, the panel paintings would not have had to be subservient to a decorative theme, and might have been hung more closely together. Or perhaps the east and west sides of the upper portico, where they faced neighboring porticoes, were walled in instead of open; this would have afforded additional space for paintings.

If the Pompeian portico reflects the Roman one, was the emphasis on Aeneas already present in the work of Theorus, before it came to Rome? Was his cycle fitted out at Rome with additional paintings to emphasize the importance of Aeneas? We

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[204] Squire 2010, 84–90.

[205] See G. Lippold in *RE* s.v. "Theoros" (2) 2244.63–2245.4, where he connects this Trojan cycle with the one in Pompeii; see also his article in *RE* s.v. "Tabula Iliaca" 1895.19–33. Lippold 1951, 84–5 later changed his mind about that connection, having invented a chronology according to which the originals of the Pompeian paintings must have been painted around 350 BC. But nothing about his chronology rests on a secure foundation.

[206] On the stylistic coherence of the paintings traced back to Theorus, see also Fornari 1916, 66–74.

[207] Vitr. 7.5.2, Petr. *Sat.* 29.

[208] The variety of visual sources for the *tabulae* is documented by Brüning 1894. The claim by Weitzmann 1959 that the tablets reflect a tradition of illuminated papyri remains purely speculative; for an effort to explain the lack of evidence, see Horsfall 1979, 44–5. Sadurska 1964, 10, n. 12 prefers to look to monumental painting for models, but does not specify Theorus.

[209] Using the scale given by Carettoni et al. 1960, Fig. 31.

saw that the image of the young Aeneas recorded at Pompeii by Rossini (fig. 66) has compositional strengths similar to the other paintings; it very much seems an integral part of the series. The wounding of Aeneas by Diomedes with the aid of Minerva is, as we have seen, a prefect reflection of Minerva restraining Achilles in his quarrel with Agamemnon, so it likewise does not seem an afterthought. There may well have been other images of Aeneas; it seems logical that a cycle with a painting of Anchises and the boy Aeneas returning to Troy would also have a painting of Aeneas and his father leaving the burning city. Perhaps it was a fore-runner of the famous sculptural group in the Forum of Augustus. Apparently, the cycle by Theorus was chosen not for the fame of the artist but because the cycle he had painted already highlighted the role of Aeneas, and so it was particularly suitable for the message Augustus wanted to project.

In contrast to Theorus, Zeuxis was one of the most famous figures in the history of Greek painting. Perhaps his most famous (and notorious) painting was his nude portrait of Helen of Troy, which hung alongside and complimented the theme of the Trojan cycle of Theorus. The fame of the artist, the beauty of the painting and the iconic story of its composition all combined to make it a splendid offering to the Roman people. We know nothing about the provenance of Theorus' paintings, but Poulle has convincingly reconstructed the vagaries of Zeuxis' *Helen* to suggest that it arrived in Rome around the time of the construction of the Portico of Philippus.[210] This can therefore lend support to the presumption that the Trojan theme goes back to the Augustan phase of the monument. Zeuxis' painting was commissioned for display in the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia on a promontory outside the city of Croton.[211] In Cicero's lengthy discussion of the origin story of the painting at the start of the second book of his *de inventione* (2.1), he implies that the painting in his day is still in the sanctuary on account of its holiness.[212] That sanctuary did not survive the chaos of the ensuing civil wars intact. Poulle points out that Appian tells us that Sextus Pompey, after the defeat of his fleet by Octavian at Naulochus, fled eastward toward Antony. On the way, he stopped off at the promontory of Lacinia and sacked the temple (*BC* 5.133).[213] The temple's most valuable work of art was surely Zeuxis' *Helen* and it is safe to assume that Sextus did not leave it behind. He proceeded toward Mytilene, and thence to Asia Minor, where he was eventually killed by Antony's forces. Regardless whether Sex-

[210] Poulle 2007. A late source attests to another *Helen* by Zeuxis in Athens, which may be a copy: Bergmann 1995, 92.

[211] On the Crotonian context, see de Angelis 2005. If the speculations of Boyancé 1955 are correct that the association between Heracles and the Muses was a Pythagorean idea that arose at Croton, then the placing of a painting from that city in the Portico of Philippus was even more appropriate. See also Burkert 1961.

[212] The language is open to ambiguity, but this is the most natural implication when Cicero says that some of Zeuxis' paintings were still in the temple; he surely would have said whether the specific image he was talking about was an exception. See Celani 1998, 164, with n. 864.

[213] Poulle 2007.

tus left his booty at his base on Lesbos or took it with him, and regardless whether it passed through Antony's hands, it must have ended up in the possession of Octavian after Actium. This, as Poulle shows, explains how it came to be displayed in Rome when the Portico of Philippus was inaugurated in the years just after Actium. Thus the Trojan theme of the paintings in the portico goes back to Augustus, which is in any case a likely inference.

Conclusion

The importance of the Portico of Philippus in the Augustan ideological program is indicated by the fact that it was chosen to house one of the most famous paintings in Rome.[214] There were many masterpieces of Greek art in the city, of course, and Augustus added more. But important works of the greatest fifth-century artists were fairly rare and the *Helen* of Zeuxis was a painting of particular renown and notoriety.[215] In the Introduction at the beginning of this book, we looked at an anecdote told by Valerius Maximus about this painting. He reports that the artist (and we have no reason to suspect that it was not the artist to do so) inscribed several lines from Homer. In his *Laocoon*, Lessing saw that the point of this gesture was to indicate that Homer did not, could not, describe Helen's beauty. To have done so would have merely rehearsed a catalog of clichés. Whereas an enumeration of the parts of Helen's body would descend rapidly into farce for Homer, Zeuxis deliberately chose a variety of disparate models for the different parts of his figure, showing his skill in blending them into a whole greater than the sum of the parts. Homer had to resort to the indirect technique of describing Helen's effect on the old men of Troy as she approached. This literary evasion is the counterpart to the artistic failure of the sculptor of the *Laocoon*, who could not give words to the scream of his creation. What we can do now is to see just how appropriate the Portico of Philippus was as a location for this challenge to the primacy of textual modes of mimesis.

There was no Muse of the plastic arts. It is not clear how soon the Muses came to be firmly associated with separate and particular literary genres, but from a very early stage they were represented with implements from the world of texts. None held a brush or a chisel. To move Zeuxis' *Helen* to Rome's *de facto* temple of the Muses was thus an act of provocation.[216] If the Muses claimed to symbolize the modalities of their mother, Memory, Zeuxis pointed to a major gap in their coverage. When read in the light of Zeuxis' bold challenge to the limits of Homer's tools, the cycle of Theorus also takes on a different aspect. No longer need we

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[214] On the prominence given to similarly famous works by the fourth-century painter Apelles in Augustan Rome, see Bergmann 1995, 89–90.

[215] See Celani 1998, 282.

[216] Poulle 2007, 32 points out that the original location of the painting in the Temple of Hera in Croton was also provocative: a nude adulteress in a sanctuary of the goddess of marriage.

think of it as a mere set of illustrations of moments in the Iliadic cycle, but as a complementary work with its own particular agenda. We saw how the paintings in the Pompeian portico acted as a kind of critical commentary on the Homeric text, teasing out connections and contrasts that were hidden in it, making them visible in the arrangement of the figures. The Portico of Philippus may have been a meeting-place for Rome's poets, but they met under the eyes of works of art which did not admit the supremacy of the text.

This tension between art and text was not an incidental aspect of the decoration of the Portico of Philippus; it was integral to its construction and to its place in Augustan ideology as a new *lieu de mémoire*, under the patronage of the daughters of Memory.[217] Its record of the Roman *fasti* probably narrated a year-by-year history of Rome as the product of aristocratic ambition. If Philippus arranged to have these transcribed in a new medium, engraved in marble rather than painted, this will have underscored the sense in which the monument marked an end-point of history, or of the Republican phase of it. In addition to connecting the Augustan present with the past, it drew a line under it. The Republic becomes history: Rome has a new calendar, and a new national narrative.

As we have seen, Fulvius' temple and Ennius' *Annales* were intimately connected: the building and the epic went hand-in-hand. When Augustus had his step-brother/uncle rebuild the monument, the implicit demand of the poets of Rome was unmistakable. Just as the temple of Fulvius was no longer fit for its original purpose, neither were the *Annales*. Already the poetic generation of Catullus had found Roman annalistic epic turgid and dull.[218] Ennius' affectation of Alexandrian elegance and his claim to be the reincarnation of Homer came to be seen as emblematic of Roman gaucherie rather than of poetic ambition. Ennius' aesthetics were obsolete, and so too was his ideology. The emulous zeal of the great families of the Republic had long since ceased to drive expansion of the *imperium* and had generated instead endless rounds of civil war. The new ideology of the Augustan peace demanded a completely new kind of epic. Re-building Fulvius' temple was the signal. Augustus demanded a new Roman epic in the most public and undeniable way.

If we can see a precise correspondence between the importance of the Muses to Fulvius' temple and Ennius' epic and between the *fasti* on the walls of the temple and the annalistic structure of the *Annales*, we might also look for such structural correspondences between the architecture of the Portico of Philippus and the *Aeneid*. We can interpret the monument as a Republican core surrounded by the new Augustan portico. At the center Philippus arranged the circular temple, the *fasti* and the statues of the Muses, all integrated as part of the new podium. Around that runs a narrative of the Trojan War. The Republican *fasti* no longer

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[217] On the temple as a "Roman time machine", see Feeney 2007, 144. On the Forum of Augustus as a successor in this regard, see Gowing 2005, 138–45 and Geiger 2008, 11–12.

[218] E.g. Catullus 95. Cicero is a useful reminder that not everyone felt this way.

tell the tale of Rome as a whole, but are just one phase in that history. The controlling narrative of the monument is now the Trojan myth, which is also the story of the Julian family. That story embraces and subsumes the list of magistrates in the middle. Within that larger framework of the founding of the Roman race by Aeneas and the re-founding of the city by Augustus, the history of the Republic becomes a phase, like the period of the Alban kings – an important phase, but just one of many in the long history that joins Aeneas and Augustus. This view is reflected in the way the new portico encircles, towers above and recontextualizes the Republican monument and its narrative. The architecture of the *Aeneid*, at least in its Augustan interpretation, is similar. The Ennian parade of Roman history is merely a parenthesis in Book 6 and an ecphrasis in Book 8. The controlling narrative is the link between Aeneas and the destiny embodied by his descendant, Augustus.[219]

It is nothing new to see a link between Augustan monuments and the parade of Roman heroes in *Aeneid* 6.[220] The Forum of Augustus, for example, similarly conceives of Roman Republican history as embedded within a larger narrative about Augustus' family. The Forum was dedicated long after Virgil's death, so if one influenced the other, the direction is clear. It is in any case typical of classical scholarship to see the text always as primary and the material artifact as secondary.[221] Our reading of the Portico of Philippus challenges this preconception. We do not know exactly what year the monument was dedicated, but it was roughly around the time of the publication of Virgil's *Georgics*, in the years just after Actium. That is to say, the *Aeneid* was largely written after the dedication of the portico, and if there is a mutual influence it is far more likely that the building influenced the poem. We might go so far as to say that the Portico of Philippus already, before the writing of the *Aeneid* which it called into being, suggested a form for the new Roman epic as driven by a Trojan narrative in such a way as to bracket Republican history as a digression. Thus we can turn the relationship between art and text upside-down, and read the *Aeneid* as a mere novelization of the really innovative art installation in the Portico of Philippus. A provocative gesture such as this may be satisfying and long overdue, given the long history of subjugating art to text in the study of the classical world, but it would probably be equally unfair and unbalanced. It seems best to say that, in the years immediately following Actium, poets, artists and architects worked together to articulate the ideology of the new regime.

We began this chapter by looking at the way in which the reestablishment of Rome's Museum by Augustus formed one piece of a comprehensive cultural pro-

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[219] On Ennius and Anchises' catalog, see P. R. Hardie 1993, 102–5 with Casali 2007, 110–15.

[220] See Degrassi 1945 and Galinsky 1996, 210–12; for further bibliography, see Geiger 2008, 50, n. 89.

[221] For a recent example, see Most 2010, 333, who concludes, despite the thrust of his own chronology, that the *Laocoon* sculptural group must depend on the *Aeneid* and not vice-versa.

gram in emulation of Ptolemaic Alexandria. We saw that Augustus was careful not to offend against traditional Roman ways and to avoid the appearance of setting himself up as a Hellenistic king with a coterie of paid flatterers. He kept carefully distinct the components of the Museum/Library complex and was particularly careful not to build anything that might look like a Royal Quarter. Nevertheless, the renovations of Fulvius' ersatz Museum sent a strong signal to Rome's poets: there would be imperial patronage, but within the traditionally ad-hoc Roman framework. This decentralized approach has sometimes given the impression that there was not an official cultural policy, but rather a set of disjointed initiatives from the likes of Maecenas, Philippus and Agrippa.[222] On some level, however, the poetry, art and architecture of the Augustan age articulated a single, unified vision of the new regime. It would be easy at this point to slip into the fallacy of reading works like the *Aeneid* as nothing more than propaganda written to order. I hope that the next chapter will show that a fuller sense of the material context which prompted its writing will lead to a greater, not a lesser, appreciation of the subtlety of Virgil's response.

Cato and Fulvius had debated the role of individual glory within the Roman Republic, and Cato had lost the argument. The Temple of Hercules Musarum was a statement of the value of extolling and remembering individual achievement. The endless civil wars had put a different spin on that, however, and it was Augustus who transformed Rome into a truly corporate endeavor, though one that the elder Cato would never have recognized. In the new dispensation, the state was wholly subordinate to the glory not of the collective but of one individual, and the transformation of the area by the Portico of Philippus expressed that change eloquently. It is an irony of history that Marcia, wife of Cato the younger, was half-sister to Philippus, builder of the portico.[223] In the next chapter we will look in more detail at how the Portico influenced Augustan poetry, both as an implicit demand made of the poets and as a place where they met and upon whose decor they must often have reflected. In addition to the *recusatio*-topos of rejecting epic, the writing of the *Aeneid* and responses to it, we will also see that other recurring themes in Augustan poetry can be explained as reactions to the Portico of Philippus: poem as monument, the triumph of the poet, the capture of the Muses, and the topography of Helicon.

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[222] For a critique of the idea of a monolithic Augustan culture, see Lowrie 2009.

[223] Syme 1939, 128, n. 1.

Chapter 6

Rome: Imaginary Temples

In this chapter we will be examining a very different type of monument: imaginary temples that serve as metaphors for a poet's own writing. We will not be discussing very much the details of the history and architecture of the Portico of Philippus as discussed in the last chapter, and we will only occasionally touch on the Pompeian paintings discussed in the previous chapters. Nevertheless, there is a very important connection between the material in this chapter and what went before. Starting with Virgil in the *Georgics*, Augustan poets began responding to Portico of Philippus by characterizing their own work as metaphorical monuments. This metaphor became an important way in which those poets articulated their relationship with the regime. The full extent of this phenomenon, and the way it links together in a public dialog the works of Virgil, Horace and Propertius only becomes apparent in the light of what we now know about the Portico of Philippus.

We will find that many of the programmatic and metaliterary passages in Augustan poetry involve imaginary temples which bear features of the Portico of Philippus. In some cases the poem itself is compared to a building like the Portico of Philippus; in others the poet describes a fictional version of a sanctuary very like it; in other cases the poet likens himself to the priest of the Muses in their new home; in still others the poet alludes to the art that was displayed there. The reason for this should now be clear: the Portico of Philippus embodied a demand from Augustus for a new national epic as well as a blueprint for it; and in return a promise to support literary culture at Rome. A request of this sort from Augustus was not to be ignored, even by those who had other ideas for their own work. Since the building served as a material metaphor for an unwritten poem, it is unsurprising that the poets frequently invoked the same metaphor when defining and defending their own work. Accordingly, the building came to be used as a way of speaking about many different genres and different attitudes toward the regime.

Apparently, Virgil gave Augustus what he wanted: a new national epic to embody the new imperial ideology. Or did he? The question whether the *Aeneid* is really, deep down a tale of glory is not one we can go into here, but a few preliminary observations must be made. If the reader believes that Virgil's epic muse

diverges from official imperial policy, it must be admitted that this happens at a fairly deep level. The external forms of the *Aeneid* are completely Augustan, written to the blueprint laid out in the Portico of Philippus. The "Augustan reception" of the *Aeneid* is an integral part of the text.[1] When Servius said that one of Virgil's purposes was to praise Augustus via his ancestors (*ad Aen.* 1, pr.), he may not have been telling the full story, but he was certainly telling a valid part of it. Augustus was not stupid or an inept reader of literature, and he must have had his reasons for rescuing the *Aeneid* from the oblivion Virgil had destined for it and for assisting in its publication. This is not to say that the Augustan reading is the only one possible, but it is clearly an important option. Of course, the *Aeneid* is much more than a work of ideology, written for hire. One place this can be seen is in the first book, when the hero encounters a temple with a portico decorated with paintings of the Trojan War, just like the Portico of Philippus. Virgil's meditation on the differences between art and text foregrounds the indeterminacy of interpretation. This is made particularly clear now that we are in a position to compare what we have established objectively about the Trojan cycle with which Virgil's readers would have been familiar, and Aeneas' subjective response to similar images as described by Virgil.

Virgil is the exception; the other Augustan poets are united in their unwillingness to write to imperial order. One of the most frequent of the *topoi* of Augustan poetry is the *recusatio*: a declaration of unwillingness or incapacity to write an epic in honor of Augustus. The demand being refused in these passages is usually assumed to have taken the form of a discreet word to the poet from Maecenas. But why would a poet dare to give a public refusal to a private request? Once we understand that Augustus had made an implicit but very public request to the poets of Rome by building the Portico of Philippus, it is clear why the public *recusatio* is such an important part of Augustan poetry. As we will see, a number of these passages contain clear references to the iconography of the Portico of Philippus, which is natural enough if it was the external form of the question to which these poems give a negative answer. Sometimes, though, the answer is not entirely negative. Another possibility was to recast the poet's own work as a different kind of monument: a positive answer to the regime's demand for engagement with the new ideology, but cast into a very different generic form. Epic is not the only genre which flirts with monumentality in the Augustan age.

In this chapter, we will be examining under a new light a number of very famous passages in Latin literature, and it needs to be said that this study is limited to one very particular aspect. The Virgilian episode of Aeneas in the Temple of Juno at Carthage and the Roman Odes of Horace have a large bibliography and it would be impossible to do justice to a complete reading of either of them in the space available here. I hope it will not seem as though this discussion is slighting other

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[1] On the phrase, see Thomas 2001.

approaches to such works; the perspective offered here is meant to be complementary. It is also worth noting that there are doubtless other passages in early Imperial literature where the Portico of Philippus must lurk behind poetic discussions of the abode of the Muses or the topography of Mt. Helicon or the Pierian spring. For example, in a recent discussion of the Roman fabulist Phaedrus, Champlin has shown that his claim to have been born on the Pierian ridge, where the Muses were born, nearly in their *schola*, does not mean, as most scholars have assumed, that he was from Greece, but that he was born in Rome, near the Temple of Hercules Musarum.[2] One tip-off that Phaedrus was not talking about the real abode of the Muses is his reference to crossing their "threshold". As Champlin notes, this fits a temple much more than a mountain grotto.[3] One could multiply such passages. I was once puzzled by the way Statius begins his second epic by claiming that he does not knock on the grove of the Muses on Mt. Helicon as a newcomer. What sort of fool knocks to gain admittance to an open, doorless grove?[4] These passages reveal the way Roman poets had internalized the idea that the Roman temple was a metaphor for Mt. Helicon to the point of routinely giving features of the temple to the mountain.[5] A systematic study of topographical references to the Muses in early Imperial poetry in the light of what we have learned about the Portico of Philippus would be a very interesting project, but in the pages that follow we only have space to discuss a handful of the most important passages.

Virgil's Temple by the Mincius

The most important response to the literary challenge embodied in the construction of the Portico of Philippus was, of course, the one that came from Virgil, the improbable epicist. It is hard to think ourselves out of the knowledge that he is the author of the great Roman national epic, but that is what we must do in order to understand the literary culture at Rome just after Actium. Virgil had begun his poetic career writing poetry in the most minor key possible, and in the bucolic *Eclogues* Apollo had explicitly warned his persona against writing about "kings and battles" ("reges et proelia"). His transformation into a writer of "battles and a hero" ("arma virumque"), and indeed into the quintessential writer of

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[2] Champlin 2005, 102–6.

[3] Phaed. 3.Pr.16: "intrare si Musarum limen cogitas" with Champlin 2005, 105: "The Muses are outdoor women, their home is in the mountains, on Pieria or Olympus or Helicon. If they do not live in a house, how can they have a threshold?"

[4] Stat. *Ach.* 1.10: "neque enim Aonium nemus advena pulso" with Heslin 2005, 77–8. The allusion to Propertius 3.3 which is noted there is what activates the potential connection with the Portico of Philippus, for, as we will see below, that elegy is a response to the real monument and its imaginary analogues in Virgil and Horace.

[5] For another example, see A. Hardie 2007, 581–2 on Virg. *Aen.* 7.641: "pandite nunc Helicona, deae." That article is an important effort to explain the significance of the Temple of Hercules Musarum for Roman poets.

epic is one of the most remarkable turn-arounds in the history of literature.[6] The place where Virgil articulated this change of course and made it seem a natural development is in the *Georgics*, which was being completed while the Portico of Philippus was under construction.[7] A work that began in a Hesiodic, which is to say non- or even anti-Homeric vein, builds up toward the end to test the waters of Homeric narrative in its final section. In the middle of that poem, at the start of the third book, Virgil makes a promise to write an epic for Augustus as his next work. Virgil uses a metaphor that derives in part from the Portico of Philippus to cast his future epic as the response to Augustus' demands.

Virgil describes the project which will eventually become the *Aeneid* as a temple he will build for Augustus.[8] It has long been recognized that this metaphor needs to be understood in the context of Augustus' building programme, but there has been some debate over which monument Virgil has in mind. Many have seen this passage as reflecting the Temple of Palatine Apollo, but a few have argued for the Temple of Hercules Musarum.[9] Despite the many explicit links to the temple of the Muses documented below, we should not ignore the potential links to the Palatine temple, and the way forward should be clear. Just as we saw in the Horatian passages discussed in the previous chapter, the poets of Rome understood that the temple and library on the Palatine and the Museum in the Campus were two halves of the same Alexandrian project.[10] Virgil's metaphorical temple combines aspects of both monuments, precisely because he understood that together they constituted Augustus' promise to emulate the support of literary culture found in Hellenistic Alexandria and Pergamum.

Virgil begins by evoking the collaborative project of Ennius and Fulvius:[11]

> temptanda uia est, qua me quoque possim
> tollere humo uictorque uirum uolitare per ora.
> primus ego in patriam mecum, modo uita supersit,
> Aonio rediens deducam uertice Musas;
> primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas,
>
> I must attempt a path by which I too may rise from the earth and fly as a
> victor on the lips of men. I will be the first, if sufficient life remains for me,

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[6] See further Heslin 2010, 65.

[7] All that can be said with certainty is that the publication of the *Georgics* and the dedication of the Portico of Philippus happened within a year or two before or after the dedication of the Temple of Palatine Apollo in 28 BC.

[8] It is generally accepted that this temple, with Augustus at its center, represents the forthcoming *Aeneid*, which will have him at it center both literally (*Aen.* 6.792) and figuratively. For an alternative view, see Morgan 1999, 50–61, 97–101 and for a different approach to the problem, Lowrie 2009.

[9] For Hercules Musarum, see S. Lundström 1976, 176–7, Mynors 1990, *ad* 3.13, P. R. Hardie 2007, 137–9 and A. Hardie 2002, 194–200.

[10] Indeed, A. Hardie 2002, 196 has already argued that we have here a conflation of the Temple of Hercules Musarum and the Temple of Palatine Apollo.

[11] *Georg.* 3.8–12.

to bring the Muses back with me to my fatherland from the Aonian peak; I
will be the first to bring palms from Edom back to you, Mantua …

Virgil uses the familiar Roman trope of evoking a predecessor at the very mo-
ment at which he makes an ironic claim for primacy.[12] He imagines himself as
a metaphorical *triumphator*, bringing the Muses back from Greece and erecting
a temple on his return, just as Fulvius had done. This metaphor is derived from
Lucretius' tribute to Ennius:[13]

> Ennius ut noster cecinit, qui primus
> amoeno detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam …
>
> As our Ennius sang, who first brought a crown of evergreen leaves from
> lovely Helicon …

The alliterative boast that the poet will live on the lips of men is adapted from
the self-penned epitaph of Ennius himself. Virgil takes the Lucretian metaphor
of Ennius carrying back the poetic crown from Greece and combines it with Ful-
vius' sack of the Muses. All this is well known. What needs to be appreciated is
the way Virgil proclaims that he will be the new Ennius, with particular regard to
the way his poetry seamlessly complemented the building programme of his pa-
tron, Fulvius. Virgil establishes here the metaphorical union of his and Augustus'
building projects. He acknowledges that Augustus has replaced Fulvius' outmoded
structure and commits himself to replacing Ennius' outmoded epic.

There is an ambiguity about the word *patria* in the lines above. Does Virgil
regard Rome or Mantua as his fatherland? Both? Italy in general? The setting for his
metaphorical temple will be in Mantua, but it draws upon metropolitan models
(*Georg.* 3.13–18):

> et uiridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
> propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
> Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas.
> in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit:
> illi uictor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro
> centum quadriiugos agitabo ad flumina currus.
>
> and on the green plain I will set up a temple of marble beside the water,
> where the vast Mincius meanders in lazy windings and fringes its banks
> with slender reeds. In the middle I will put Caesar, and he will possess the
> shrine. In his honor I, a victor resplendent in Tyrian purple, will drive a
> hundred four-horse chariots beside the river.

The gleaming marble of the temple and the fact that Caesar will sit at its very
center will rightly make us think of the Temple of Palatine Apollo, which was next

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[12] See Hinds 1998, 54–5 on the irony entailed in turning a claim for primacy into a repeated
trope; on the likelihood that this claim went back to Ennius, see Skutsch 1985, 373–5.

[13] Lucretius 1.117–18.

to Augustus' residence and was famous for its use of marble. On the other hand, the position of the temple is not on a hill, but *in campo*. It stands at a bend in the winding river of Mantua, the Mincius. This would naturally make a non-Mantuan Roman think of the Campus Martius, where the Portico of Philippus stood right at the bend in the Tiber. Even more evocative of that position is the picture of Virgil as *triumphator* leading the triumphal procession beside the river. Roman triumphs began at the Circus Flaminius, right in front of the Portico of Philippus, and this was the reason, as we have seen, why Fulvius put his temple there, in order to recall his earlier Ambracian triumph.[14] Ennius may well have represented himself as similarly triumphant in his discussion of Fulvius' return from Ambracia with the Muses at the climax of the first edition of the *Annales*.[15]

The triumphal imagery continues as Virgil goes on to describe the games that will be held and the sacrificial offerings that will be made at the temple (19–23). He then describes the ivory and gold doors of the temple, which show scenes of Augustus' far-flung triumphs. This passage strongly anticipates the account of Octavian's triple triumph of 29 B C, which is depicted on the shield forged by Vulcan in Book 8 of the *Aeneid*.[16] On a banal level, these similarities may be accounted for in the fact that they were both probably inspired by the same event and the same building. But when Virgil in the *Aeneid* repeats language from the *Georgics*, as he does on a number of occasions, it is never out of laziness or automatism; these moments are significant intertextual connections and must be interpreted as such. The key difference between the two passages is that the *Georgics* emphasizes the start of the triumphal celebrations and then jumps right to the festivities at the temple without a parade in between. From a Roman perspective, Virgil's Mantuan triumphal procession short-circuits the route. It starts *in campo*, as if in a space like the Circus Flaminius, with the chariots beside the river. Then Virgil speaks of the procession to the temple, but it cannot be much of a procession, for the temple is also in the plain by the river. This omission is rectified in the account in the *Aeneid*, which emphasizes the participation of the entire city of Rome in the celebrations and the length of the procession as it leads uphill to its end-point at the Temple of Palatine Apollo.[17]

In the *Aeneid* Virgil describes a real triumph, which earlier had loosely inspired a fictional, metaphorical triumph in the *Georgics*; by so doing he draws a line from one ecphrasis of a future temple to the other. He focuses our attention on the way he has fulfilled in the *Aeneid* (or at least in the shield ecphrasis) the promise he made in the *Georgics* to praise Octavian's exploits in his next work. The position of the victory at Actium at the center of the shield (*in medio*, *Aen.* 8.675) and there-

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[14] On the parallels between Octavian's triumph and Virgil's, see Balot 1998, 90–2.

[15] P. R. Hardie 2007, 136–9.

[16] 8.714–28; for the verbal similarities, see Drew 1924, 195–8.

[17] This end-point must have been fictional as the temple had not yet been dedicated, and all such processions ended at the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter: J. F. Miller 2000, 409.

fore of Roman history echoes the promise to put Caesar at the center (*in medio*, *Georg.* 3.16) of the metaphorical temple.[18] For the purposes of our discussion, the interesting thing is the way Virgil retrospectively creates an Actian triumphal procession that begins in Mantua in the *Georgics* ecphrasis and ends in Rome in the *Aeneid* ecphrasis. The combined picture is of a procession which begins by a river in a place which looks very like the Portico of Philippus in the Circus Flaminius, and which proceeds to another poem and thus through a wildly jubilant Rome to Augustus reviewing the parade in front of the Temple of Palatine Apollo. In other words, when reading the *Georgics* in isolation, Virgil's temple looks like a Mantuan hybrid of the Portico of Philippus and the Palatine temple, but looking back from the point of view of the *Aeneid* passage, with its explicit ecphrasis of the Palatine temple itself as the end-point of the triumph, what comes to seem more important is the position of the *Georgics*-temple by a river as the starting-point of the triumph, and thus its echoes of the Portico of Philippus. Virgil thereby creates another connection between the two halves of Augustus' Museum/Library project, in that this half-real, half-imaginary triumphal procession begins at the Museum on the Circus Flaminius and ends at the Library on the Palatine. Virgil makes clear the links between Augustus' triumph, his building program and his literary program, of which the *Aeneid* itself is the culminating monument.

In connecting the temple by the Mincius with the shield of Aeneas, Virgil links the promise of a national epic to replace the *Annales* with its fulfillment. There is a strong parallel between the very historical, annalistic epic which the *Georgics* passage seems to promise, and the very Ennian, annalistic narrative of the shield ecphrasis.[19] This highlights, by way of contrast, the fact that the *Aeneid* is not in fact an year-by-year panegyric of Roman military victories. Rather, it embeds in a Trojan framework such passages as this and the parade of future Roman heroes in the underworld. We might make the mistake of thinking this disjunction between what Virgil promises in the *Georgics* and what he delivers constitutes a refusal to write precisely what Augustus wanted. But the architecture of the Portico of Philippus tells us otherwise: there too, Augustus took the Republican *fasti* and surrounded them with a Trojan narrative. Transcending Ennius' project rather than continuing where he left off was always the plan. Virgil's independence lies elsewhere.

Virgil's Temple of Juno at Carthage

We saw in the preceding section that there is a complex relationship between fiction and reality in Virgil's temple ecphrases. One of the most influential studies of the tradition begins thus: "The earliest ekphrastic poetry describes what doesn't

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[18] On the phrase, see Thomas 1983, 179-80.
[19] On the Ennian promises of the *Georgics* passage, see Nelis 2004, 84.

exist, save in the poetry's own fiction".[20] Hollander goes on to cite as an important example "the paintings of the Temple of Juno, … described with great regard to how Aeneas himself reads those images". As noted in the Introduction to this book, this established orthodoxy of ecphrasis as an exclusively literary and purely fictional phenomenon needs some modification. It is my contention that, when Aeneas gazes at length upon the scenes of the Trojan War in the temple, every Roman reader of Virgil would have recognized the kind of artwork described there from the Theorus cycle, either from having seen it in the Portico of Philippus or from its provincial imitations, of which the Pompeian temple portico must have been only one of many.[21] This is not to say that Virgil was engaged in a literal description of an actual, existing cycle of paintings. Even the description of the "real" triple triumph and the "actual" Temple of Palatine Apollo on the shield of Aeneas is far from simply a report of facts known to all of Virgil's readers, as we have seen. By contrast, his Temple of Juno is wholly imaginary and so is its art. We should not expect an imaginary structure to house real artworks. Nevertheless, the meaning of this ecphrasis can only be understood properly by taking into account, as far as we can, its similarities to and differences from the familiar monuments which will have formed the horizon of expectations for Virgil's readers. This is in principle no different from the entirely uncontroversial way we bring our knowledge of Homer, the cyclic epics and other Greek literary texts to bear upon our reading of these Trojan images.

Our newly-won knowledge of the sort of art installation that Virgil's audience would have had in mind as a point of comparison for the fictional ecphrasis can help us in two ways. The first is to permit us to deepen our reading of individual paintings within the Temple of Juno. We will see that some of these fictional paintings are strongly reminiscent of works from Pompeii. More importantly, Aeneas' response to them recalls some of the hermeneutic difficulties we have encountered in trying to ascertain what they represent. In other words, Virgil shows Aeneas as having some of the same interpretive difficulties we have encountered. We know from personal experience that the identification of these scenes is not always straightforward, and that gives us a different perspective on Aeneas' confident reading. This brings us to the second, broader benefit of reading this ecphrasis in the light of the Pompeian portico. Aeneas claims to be an authoritative identifier of the images despite the self-evident fact that his response to them is highly subjective, emotional and biased. Our possession of a real portico with similar paintings permits us to see that not only is Aeneas a subjective interpreter, he is also, very probably, an unreliable one. He is very good at identifying Trojans and Trojan allies with whom he is personally familiar, but he does less well with other scenes. Crucially, he does not know what transpired in the Greek camp between

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[20] Hollander 1988, 209.
[21] See Celani 1998, 275, n. 1489.

Achilles and Agamemnon; he has not read the *Iliad*. This is one of the reasons he jumps around chronologically. Sequence helped us identify individual scenes in the Pompeian portico, because we could compare the sequence of Homer's narrative. Aeneas does not know the full story of Achilles, which will make all the difference in his future choices throughout the *Aeneid*.

In the *Georgics*, Virgil compared his forthcoming epic to the construction of a temple that had a number of similarities with the Portico of Philippus. In the *Aeneid*, the first temple we come across is likewise in the process of construction and also has a similar decortive program to that of the Portico of Philippus. This must be an important programmatic signal. It has long been acknowledged that this ecphrasis is a mise-en-abîme of the *Aeneid* as a whole, in that it describes the representation of the Trojan story in art in the middle of an epic which is itself a Trojan narrative. Moreover, by foregrounding Aeneas' emotional reaction to that art, Virgil teaches us how to respond to his poem. We may take that approach even further, now that we have established how the restoration of the Temple of Hercules Musarum functioned as a challenge to the poets of Rome to replace Ennius' *Annales* with something better and more suited to the ideology of the age. The Portico of Philippus was a physical metaphor for the unwritten epic, so by incorporating a version of it within his poem, Virgil highlighted the self-referentiality of this passage. In order to understand its particularities, we must therefore bear in mind a number of comparanda: the Homeric epics, the cyclic epics, the Trojan cycle in the Portico of Philippus and Virgil's own Trojan narrative.

A number of caveats must be borne in mind before assuming that we can recreate on the basis of the Pompeian portico the expectations that Virgil's readers would have brought to his text on the basis of their experience, direct or indirect, of the Portico of Philippus. The first is that our claim that the Pompeian cycle descended from the Roman one hangs on a very slender thread: the similarity of the overall conception and the fact that very similar representations of a number of the individual scenes were found in the vicinity of Rome on the *tabulae Iliacae*. Nevertheless, a link with Virgil's text is plausible enough to have been made in passing and in general terms by many scholars over the years. For a recent example, Torelli writes:[22]

> … it is possible that Virgil had the "bellum Iliacum plurimis tabulis" in mind, a proper pictorial cycle, the work of the late classical painter Theoros, which decorated the early Augustan *porticus Philippi*, just as it is probable that the *Tabulae Iliacae*, which were fairly popular among aristocrats in the poet's day, were not unrelated to the composition of these famous Virgilian images.

The second caveat is that the Pompeian portico was built a few years after the

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[22] Torelli 1999, 119, though he wrongly interprets Virgil's ecphrasis as a continuous frieze. See also Shipley 1931, 30.

publication of the *Aeneid* and was extensively restored after the earthquakes of the 60s, by which time the *Aeneid* had already become a classic. It is therefore not only possible but likely that the real Trojan portico in Pompeii was influenced by Virgil's imaginary one. We cannot therefore use it as a completely independent witness to the real portico in Rome that inspired Virgil's fiction. The third caveat is that, even if the Pompeian portico has a fairly straight line of descent from the Roman one, we have for it only, at best, modern drawings and watercolors of provincial copies of paintings from an Augustan metropolitan monument. Doubtless there are other issues as well. Despite all these reservations, however, the Pompeian portico can give us some idea of the range of expectations of a Roman reader of Virgil. It turns out that having a real-life Trojan cycle from a Roman temple is very useful as an object of comparison. It can highlight for us some surprising omissions from Virgil's imaginary temple, sow doubt as to the correctness of some of Aeneas' identifications, and illustrate a number of hermeneutic problems inherent in viewing this kind of monument.

Before we looking at Virgil's paintings in individual detail, we must first clarify some basic issues regarding their physical form, location and arrangement. The one thing scholars have agreed in is that this Temple of Juno, with its raised podium, is Roman rather than Greek in style. Though this passage has been the focus of a great deal of attention from literary critics, there has been considerable variance about the physical aspects of Virgil's *picturae*. Scholars routinely refer to the images as relief sculpture, despite the fact that what Aeneas looks at is called a "picture" (*pictura*, 1.464), which can only with very great difficulty, or even perversity, be interpreted as anything but a painting in this context.[23] Color features strongly in many of the images: the shining white color (*niveis*, 469) of the pristine, yet unused tents of Rhesus offsets the blood and gore (*caede cruentus*, 471) spilled by Diomedes. The gleaming gold (*aurea*, 492) belt worn by Penthesilea is set off against her bare breast, and her (implicitly) white skin contrasts with the black skin (*nigri*, 489) of Memnon in the next image. These are paintings, not sculptures. Perhaps the puzzling stubbornness with which modern readers have insisted on viewing these images as carvings despite every implication of Virgil's Latin is because almost all depictions of myth in ancient temples that have survived the millennia are sculpture, whereas temple paintings, except in a few instances, have been lost.[24]

Another error is that modern critics frequently refer to a continuous frieze,

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[23] Thus, emphatically, Simon 1982, 206–7, though many if not most readers have desperately tried to explain the word away. See, for example, Leach 1988, 318: "While Virgil's term *pictura* does not encourage our imagining a sculptured decoration, it does not wholly exclude it." See also the strange argument of Laird 1996, 88–9 that it refers to a "mental image".

[24] Heyne argues that these must be paintings, despite his concern over the apparent anachronism in that Homer prefers to describe representational objects in the heroic world as being made of worked metal: Wagner 1830–41, vol. 2, 247–8.

or murals, even though Virgil's diction strongly implies that they are individual panel paintings (*singula*, 1.453).[25] Others refer to frescoes, but it is unlikely that Dido's temple should be thought of as decorated with a cheap substitute for genuine encaustic panel paintings on wood. Still other scholars have wrongly inferred from the difficulties of modern critics that this is a case of deliberate Virgilian ambiguity.[26] It is true that when literary critics disagree about the *Aeneid*, it is often because Virgil has left the interpretation open, but that is not the case here.[27] Virgil's account of the location of the paintings in the temple is clear enough when we read it carefully; the scale of scholarly misunderstanding is a reflection of the failure of literary critics to read the text closely in the light of material comparanda.[28]

Many critics imply that the images were on the temple building itself, but that runs against the grain of Virgil's description. Moormann rightly observes that Aeneas never enters the temple building proper before the arrival of Dido, which excludes a location in the cella, but he is misled into thinking that the phrase "sub ingenti templo" (1.453) must mean that the paintings were on the lower part of the exterior wall of the temple itself and so he excludes an arrangement in a portico such as that in Pompeii.[29] In fact, the word *templum* does not mean "temple" except when used loosely. The proper word for the temple building itself is *aedes* and in contrast the strict meaning of *templum* is "sanctuary" or "sacred precinct". This encompasses the entire complex, including any portico and also the parts of the sacred area open to the heavens, for the word's original meaning is connected with the taking of auspices and with the sky.[30] We may thus translate "sub ingenti templo" as "within the vast sanctuary". The local force of the word "below" (*sub*) may refer either to the sky above the sacred precinct or to the ceiling of the portico, or perhaps to both. The other phrase Virgil uses of Aeneas' location is *in luco* (1.450), or "in the grove". In the Roman world, the area between the portico and the temple building was often planted with trees and shrubs; archaeological techniques have only recently evolved to the point where this feature can be detected. We now know that there was such a feature in several Pompeian temples, including the Temple of Apollo.[31] Of course the paintings were not placed in the

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[25] Admittedly, the nature of Aeneas' response to the images sometimes makes it unclear exactly how many paintings are described.

[26] Boyd 1995, 81–3.

[27] E.g. Leach 1988, 312, quite wrongly: "No one of these conjectures is wrong or right. Virgil assigns no position or form to the pictures."

[28] This is not to say that we cannot compare Virgil's paintings to temple sculptures. For example, Nagy 2008, 4§250–8 wishes Virgil's images to be relief sculptures in order to compare the north metopes of the Parthenon, but such intertextuality does not require the medium or architectural position to be the same.

[29] Moormann 2011, 32.

[30] See Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* 7.6–12 and Beard, North, and Price 1998, 22–3.

[31] See Carroll 2010 and Carroll 2007 on the Temple of Venus, and Carroll and Godden 2000 on the Temple of Apollo.

grove. By taking us into the grove, Virgil shows Aeneas moving away from the temple building itself and toward the boundary of the sanctuary. He examines the exterior of the temple building and its doors (1.448–9), and in the next line moves into the grove of trees that surrounded the temple building (*in luco*, 450). Then he continues his movement and sees the paintings, which are within the sanctuary but separated from the temple building by a grove. As Sandbach said, "A Roman could hardly help applying his own experiences and imagining them as adorning a colonnade enclosing the sanctuary; this was pointed out already by Heyne."[32] In his commentary, Austin notes the connection made by Sandbach and adds Pliny's information about the cycle of Theorus in the Portico of Philippus; he rightly glosses "sub ingenti … templo" thus: "Aeneas is now beneath the portico of the temple, looking up".[33] Virgil's readers, especially those familiar with the Portico of Philippus, would not have hesitated to infer that Aeneas was looking at a cycle of panel paintings arranged around the portico of the temple. It is worth noting that, in his imitation of this Virgilian passage, the poet Silius put the paintings of the First Punic War observed by Hannibal in a temple in Liternum explicitly in the temple portico.[34]

Unlike the other important works of art described in the poem, no artist is named: no Daedalus, Vulcan, or even Clonus, who made the fatal baldric of Pallas. This is despite the way in which the paintings echo the artistry of the *Aeneid* itself. Indeed, they are credited to a plurality of artists (*artificumque manus*, 1.455), though this may be an erroneous claim as focalized through Aeneas' ignorance. Perhaps we should refer this anonymity to the status of Theorus, who was, unlike Zeuxis, no name to conjure with.[35] The value of his painting was not, we must suppose, in painterly craftsmanship of surpassing skill, but in his handling of composition, characterization and narrative and the intelligence of his commentary on Homer, as we saw on display in the Pompeian portico. Despite its anonymity, this is the sort of art which is a better fit with the strengths of verbal narrative, and it sustains Virgil's lengthy ecphrasis much better than, say, Zeuxis' nude *Helen*.

Before we come to the description of the individual paintings which is strongly tinted with Aeneas' tears, Virgil gives us a very pithy and rather more objective description of the cycle (1.456–8):

> uidet Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
> bellaque iam fama totum uulgata per orbem,
> Atridas Priamumque et saeuum ambobus Achillem.
> He sees the battles of Ilium in due order, the war already proclaimed by

[32] Sandbach 1965–6, 29; the passage is quoted at slightly greater length at the start of the Introduction.
[33] Austin 1971, *ad* 453 and 456.
[34] *porticibus* (6.656), on which see Moormann 2011, 35–8.
[35] Somewhat differently: Putnam 1998, 23 with 216, n. 2.

fame throughout the world, the sons of Atreus, and Priam, and Achilles,
fierce in his wrath against both.

The phrase "fierce in his wrath against both" is a brilliantly epigrammatic sum-
mary of the *Iliad* and the anger of Achilles which is its subject. It also happens to
capture very well our iconic image of Achilles drawing his sword as he advances
upon his commander. If the distribution of surviving images in Pompeian houses
is any indication, this was the most famous image from the Apollo-portico; per-
haps the same was true in Rome. Virgil begins by teasing us with the promise that
we will see a representation of that painting and the rest of the paintings of that
cycle. Our appetite is whetted for a linear, objective account of the *Iliad* paintings,
starting from the beginning of the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon and
proceeding "in order" (*ex ordine*, 456) until the death of Hector. But that is not
what Aeneas gives us when he turns to the paintings. The subsequent lines change
the tone of the ecphrasis dramatically. Aeneas famously bursts into tears and the
rest of the account it punctuated by his tears, groans and longing. From this point
on, we are given a portrait of a disordered mind more than of an ordered portico.
From our knowledge of the Pompeian portico, we can get a much better sense of
the degree to which Aeneas' subjective response subverts our expectations and thus
distorts his account of the cycle. One important difference, as we will see, is that
Aeneas himself appears to be completely ignorant of the quarrel between Achilles
and Agamemnon that sets the plot of the *Iliad* in motion. Thus the promise of
this brief tease is never fulfilled: Aeneas cannot react emotionally to the painting
of the quarrel between the Greek leaders because he has no way of knowing what
that painting was about. The omissions in Aeneas' experience of the portico are
highly significant.

The most striking difference between the expectations set up by this short ob-
jective account of the cycle and the lengthy subjective description of the ecphrasis
proper is the chronological disorder of the paintings, despite Virgil's plain and
unambiguous statement at the outset that the Trojan War was described "in due
order" (*ex ordine*, 456). Most readers have correctly seen that this apparent con-
tradiction is a result of Virgil's subjective filtering of the portico through Aeneas'
tears.[36] He leaps from one scene to another as he recognizes familiar figures, and
this accounts for the disorder. Other readers have wrongly thought that we should
imagine that the paintings themselves are out of order. While it is true that an-
cient visual narratives often have discontinuities in strict chronological order, nev-
ertheless ordering and proximity are important cues for identifying subjects. The
smaller-scale Trojan cycles in Pompeii are mostly in order, with occasional jumps,
just like the cycle in the Apollo-portico, which seems to have been continuous on
the east wall before jumping to the end of the epic on the north wall. In general, se-
quence is important for reading visual narratives. The disorder in Aeneas' pell-mell

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[36] See Petrain 2006, 263–6.

experience of the art in the Carthaginian portico is much greater than anything we have seen. It contrasts strongly with Virgil's emphasis on the ordering of the visual narrative and with our expectations of how such a portico would have been arranged. By jumping around from painting to painting, Aeneas has unmoored himself from one of the main cues to the identification of the subjects. Virgil thus presents us here with not so much an ecphrasis as a description of one man's reaction to a work of art in which he has a very large emotional investment. In so doing, Virgil followed the lesson taught by Zeuxis' quotation of Homer in the Portico of Philippus: verbal artists are better advised to describe human reactions to visual phenomena than to attempt to describe those phenomena directly.[37]

A list of the paintings in the sanctuary of Juno as we encounter them demonstrates the disorder. It is not possible to give a definitive list, for there are several ambiguities in the account. First the Greeks are in retreat and then the Trojans. Common sense would seem to imply that these are separate paintings, but this is not made explicit. The dragging of Hector's corpse is mentioned in the pluperfect, which seems to imply that this act was not represented, but is simply mentioned as the background to the ransoming of his corpse. Aeneas and Memnon are mentioned together in a way that might imply that they are in the same painting, but this may be due to the haste with which Aeneas passes over the representation of himself. Subject to those qualifications, Virgil seems to describe nine paintings:[38]

1. Trojans rout the Greeks
2. Greeks, led by Achilles, counterattack
3. Death of Rhesus
4. Death of Troilus
5. Trojan women supplicate Pallas
6. Ransom of Hector's corpse
7. Aeneas in combat
8. Memnon
9. Penthesilea

At first glance these are quite drastically disordered. Even accounting for Aeneas' eyes leaping from one painting to another, it is hard to see how an episode from the *Cypria*, the death of Troilus, could pop up in the middle of the *Iliad*. Are we to imagine that Aeneas was running from one side of the portico to the other? It is no wonder that some readers have discounted Virgil's claim that the paintings were

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[37] Bettini 1999, 177–9 points out that Aeneas' tears in front of the paintings are based on Odysseus' tears when Demodocus sings of the Trojan War. So the parallel emotional effect of poetry and painting is highlighted from the start.

[38] This list of subjects is roughly similar to those of Clay 1988, 202 and Petrain 2006, 264, apart from the problem of whether the tides of war are shown in two paintings or one and whether Aeneas and Memnon appear in the same painting. My view is that in both of these cases there are two separate paintings.

"in order". The difficulty in this passage is a result of the way Virgil has carefully overlaid two separate sources of disorder: Aeneas' emotional leaping from subject to subject, and his complete misidentification of several scenes. There has been a large amount of scholarly work on the way the focalization of these paintings via Aeneas reveals his partisan bias and his tendentious misinterpretations.[39] Now that we have a better idea of the expectations of Virgil's ancient readers by extrapolating from the Pompeian portico, we can go a step further and say that Aeneas is not only biased in his interpretations; he is prone to outright misidentification.

The labeling of the names of figures was done inconsistently in ancient art. Some artifacts, such as many of the *tabulae Iliacae*, have nearly all of the figures labelled, while others, such as the various miniature domestic Trojan cycles in Pompeii, do so occasionally. As far as we can tell, there were no labels on the Trojan paintings in the Temple of Apollo. The viewer would have been helped by the iconography and the fact that it followed the Homeric narrative quite closely. Nevertheless, it would have been something of a test of the viewer's knowledge of Homer. If you did not have that sort of information at your fingertips, there might have been guides lurking in the Portico who would have explained the art for a small financial consideration. Here in Carthage, by contrast, Aeneas and Achates are quite alone, and are in any case magically invisible to any lurking *ciceroni*. Of course, Aeneas has the benefit of having lived through the events depicted in the paintings, so surely he has no need of labels or guides. One of the surprises of this passage is that Aeneas' personal perspective is less of an advantage than it might at first seem. Aeneas' first specific reaction is to say "Look! Priam!", thus presenting himself as someone with intimate knowledge of the people represented there.[40] But his personal, subjective perspective from the Trojan side of the war is also a limitation.[41] In fact, our knowledge of both Homer and of a painting cycle which may echo the cycle of Theorus puts us in a better position than the hero to understand some of what he is seeing.

The first two paintings seem straightforward enough (1.466–8):

> namque uidebat uti bellantes Pergama circum
> hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuuentus;
> hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.

> For he was seeing how, as they fought around Pergamon, in one place the Greeks were in flight with the Trojan youth pushing them back; in another place the Phrygians fled as Achilles in his crested helmet was pressing them close with his chariot.

First the Trojans are successful; then the Greeks. This is an apt summary of the flow of battle in the *Iliad*. Presumably Aeneas could tell the sides apart by the difference

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[39] See Fowler 1991, 31–33, with bibliographical discussion.

[40] "en Priamus!" *Aen.* 1.461, on which see Barchiesi 1999, 331.

[41] This is evident in a more general way in his (mis)reading of the entire cycle as a gesture of sympathy toward the Trojans: Barchiesi 1997c, 277 and D. Beck 2007, 536–40.

in their armor. But this brings us to a problem. The tide of battle turns when Achilles, in his helmet, pushes the Trojans back. In the *Iliad*, by contrast, the tide turns when Patroclus, wearing Achilles' armor, pushes the Trojans back. How does Aeneas know who is under the helmet of Achilles in this scene? He cannot, and the fact that he simply assumes that the wearer of Achilles' helmet must be Achilles points to the limitations in his knowledge, due to his position inside Troy. He does not know anything that happened in the Greek camp, with one exception: the ransom of Hector's body, where uniquely there was a Trojan witness, Priam. Aeneas does not know of the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon; all he knows is that at one point Achilles was absent and the Trojans started to gain ground. Then he seems to return and in Book 16 they lose what they have gained. There is never a grand announcement to the Trojans that it is Patroclus who has been wearing the armor of Achilles; the definitive moment must be when Apollo knocks the disguise from him (16.793–804).[42] But for how long has he been wearing it? Homer never tells us what the Trojans infer from this discovery; he certainly does not give us a moment at which the deception is revealed to all of them.[43] Aeneas therefore has no reason to suspect the truth behind the initial reappearance of Achilles' helmet on the battlefield. He is confident that a picture of the helmet of Achilles implies that Achilles was under it, but we know that the matter is not so certain. This sets in relief his striking ignorance of what was happening in the Greek camp. He may have been at Troy, but we have read Homer and he has not.

In the next painting, Aeneas is in a much better position to identify the main figure, for it is Rhesus, an important Trojan ally (1.469–73):

> nec procul hinc Rhesi niueis tentoria uelis
> agnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno
> Tydides multa uastabat caede cruentus,
> ardentisque auertit equos in castra prius quam
> pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.

> Not far away from that he tearfully recognizes the tents of Rhesus with their snow-white canvas, which, betrayed in their first sleep, the blood-stained son of Tydeus laid waste with much slaughter; and he turned the fiery horses away to the Greek camp, before they could taste the grass of Troy or drink from the river Xanthus.

Here we have an episode of Greek perfidy that happened right next to the Trojan camp, and whose aftermath Aeneas would have witnessed personally. All of the details here correspond closely to the narrative in *Iliad* 10, except that Aeneas is not mentioned there as a witness. Perhaps we are simply to presume his presence, or, more likely, we are meant to think of the pseudo-Euripidean *Rhesus*. In

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[42] At *Il.* 16.543, however, Glaucus already seems to know that Sarpedon has been killed by Patroclus rather than Achilles.

[43] On the uneasy integration of the disguise-motif into the plot of the *Iliad*, see Janko 1992, 310–1.

that drama, Aeneas plays an important role in the lead-up to the episode on the Trojan side: he is the one to prompt the sending out of Dolon as a spy. One difference here is that Virgil's Aeneas demonstrates knowledge of the prophecy that Troy could not be taken if Rhesus' horses were to pasture and drink at Troy, a story which is absent from both Homer and pseudo-Euripides. He does not know everything, however. His language implies that he thinks that Diomedes stole the horses because he knew of the prophecy of their importance to Troy's safety; but this is not the case for Homer or for Euripides.[44] That is to say: Aeneas has important information about the Trojan side unknown to both Homer and Euripides, and so he erroneously presumes that the Greeks also have this knowledge. At the very moment when Aeneas demonstrates his knowledge of important details of the Trojan story, he reveals his ignorance of the the motivations of the heroes on the Greek side. Another gap in Aeneas' knowledge is that he attributes the mission solely to Diomedes and omits mention of Ulysses. Diomedes is a Greek hero whose appearance Aeneas knew very well, for he faced off against him in the duel in *Iliad* 5. It seems that Aeneas has silently omitted to mention Ulysses because he was not able to identify that figure in the painting; for it ought to have been he rather than Diomedes to lead away the horses of Rhesus (*Il.* 10.498–501).

The next painting makes the limitations in Aeneas' interpretations even more obvious. He pities young Troilus for being unequal to the challenge of meeting Achilles, but we may remember that the Pompeian portico showed Aeneas himself as unequal to combat with Diomedes. Indeed, many depictions of the death of Troilus in Greek art show Aeneas vainly attempting to come to his rescue, so it was not only Troilus who was unequal in this meeting.[45] The bigger curiosity here is that the painting Aeneas confidently identifies as showing Troilus actually looks much more like the Pompeian painting of the dragging of Hector's body (1.474–8):

> parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,
> infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli,
> fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,
> lora tenens tamen; huic ceruixque comaeque trahuntur
> per terram, et uersa puluis inscribitur hasta.

> In another place Troilus, his armor flung away in flight – unhappy boy, and ill-matched in conflict with Achilles – is carried along by his horses and, having fallen backward, clings to the empty chariot, still clasping the reins; his neck and hair are dragged on the ground, and the dust is scored by his reversed spear.

Virgil must have known the version of the myth of Troilus in which his death,

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[44] The subjunctives *gustassent* and *bibissent* imply a purpose (see Austin 1971, *ad* 473), which, strictly speaking, according to both Homer and Euripides, neither Greek hero had in mind. On the development of the story, see Gantz 1993, 619.

[45] Galinsky 1969a, 18–19.

like the theft of Rhesus' horses, embodied a prerequisite for the fall of Troy.[46]
As scholars have long noted, however, this scene completely different from the
mainstream of representations of the death of Troilus in Greek and Roman art.[47]
In the myth, Troilus goes off to water his horses, sometimes alone, sometimes with
his sister Polyxena, but without a chariot, when Achilles ambushes him. In art he
is shown on horseback or leading a horse or both; he is not fighting from, or killed
while riding a chariot.[48] There is a tradition that Achilles is filled with desire when
he sees Troilus at the ambush, pursues him, and kills him when his advances are
rejected; this version makes the presence of a chariot even more strange. There are
a number of visual representations of the death of Troilus that include Aeneas as a
witness, but none of them look like this.[49] The only source with anything similar
to this painting is the narrative of the myth by the anonymous compiler known
as the First Vatican Mythographer, who says that the dead body of Troilus was
dragged back to Troy, tied to his horses.[50] Virgil may have known that story and
wants us to imagine that Aeneas was a witness to Troilus' pitiful return to Troy. On
that basis, Aeneas speculates that the figure he sees being thrown from a chariot
and apparently dragged behind it must be Troilus. But it is a poor guess and, in the
face of the complete idiosyncrasy of Aeneas' identification of this scene, a better
recourse is to say that he was simply mistaken and we are meant to notice the error.

It is an interesting coincidence that we were faced with a very similar prob-
lem of identification in Pompeii. There we also have a image of an inverted man
tumbling or suspended from a chariot (fig. 53). Most observers decided that this
showed the dragging of Hector's body, even though the feet are in mid-air in-
side the chariot. But others have been sure that it shows a warrior falling out of a
chariot. Perhaps there were debates among contemporary Romans in Pompeii as
to whether this showed Hector or some battle scene; perhaps there were similar
debates at the Portico of Philippus in Rome. In the absence of labels, there must
have been room for debate. Is it a coincidence that Aeneas has such conspicuous
difficulty in identifying the subject of just such a scene? What if Virgil is hinting at
the possibility that Aeneas has misidentified a painting of the dragging of Hector's
body, on account of the puzzling, elevated position of his feet?[51] Virgil's language

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[46] As in Plautus, *Bacch*. 954.

[47] See the discussion of Williams 1960, 145–8.

[48] See Kossatz-Deissman in *LIMC* 1.1.72–5, s.v. "Achilleus". and Gantz 1993, 597–2.

[49] See Gantz 1993, 600 and Galinsky 1969a, 18–19, with figs 14, 15, 97, 110.

[50] 3.8: Zorzetti 1995, 118. The desperate search for parallels has led e.g. Kossatz-Deissman in
LIMC 8.1.91 s.v. "Troilos" to suggest that Priam's enumeration of Troilus in the *Iliad* (24.257–60)
among his sons killed in war attests to an alternative tradition in which he was killed in a proper
battle rather than an ambush, but the Homeric passage does not require this.

[51] Inversely, Six 1917, 191–2 suggested on the basis of Virgil that the Pompeian picture as re-
produced by Steinbüchel might show the death of Troilus; the hypothesis is alluded to by Schefold
1957, 192, but Kossatz-Deissmann (*LIMC*, s.v. "Achilleus" 387) is rightly dubious.

echoes Homer's description of the dragging of Hector's corpse.[52] Hector is Troilus' older brother, so it is logical that they should look alike. His head is covered in dust and is upside-down, so it would be no shame for Aeneas to fail to recognize his friend. On the other hand, the stipulation that the charioteer was still holding the reins tells against that identification. But that itself is a slightly odd feature. Why were the reins so long that they could reach the hands of a figure being dragged behind the chariot? I suggest that by alluding to a contemporary painting in the Portico of Philippus of difficult interpretation, Virgil here sows at least the seeds of doubt about Aeneas' identification even of his own dear friends. At the very least, Aeneas is confidently asserting an identification that looks dubious, and which may well reflect the gliding over of a notorious interpretive *crux*. We will see in a moment how this misplaced certainty prepares us for Aeneas' response to the climax of the *Iliad* narrative.

Another effect of our doubts about the identification of Troilus is to reduce somewhat the disorder of the episodes. If this is actually a painting of the dragging of Hector's body, then the first part of Aeneas' experience of the paintings reflects a mildly disordered encounter with a purely Iliadic cycle:

Books 7–15 Trojans push Greeks back to their ships
Book 16 Greeks, led by Patroclus in Achilles' armor, push Trojans back
Book 10 Rhesus
Book 22 Dragging of Hector's body
Book 6 Trojan women pray to Athena
Book 24 Priam ransoms Hector's body

It is still the case that Aeneas must be jumping backward and forward from painting to painting as he identifies, or thinks he has identified, various subjects from the plot of the *Iliad*. But the removal of Troilus as a spurious subject leaves us with a much more intelligible sense of Aeneas gazing at a portico not unlike the one in Pompeii. Non-linear reading is still an important part of the description – indeed, with Aeneas' lack of Homeric knowledge he is not in a position to construct a coherent narrative out of these images. Without access to that text, his ability to make sense of some, but not all, of the individual paintings is severely compromised.

The next passage returns to the city of Troy, and once more Aeneas is in a competent position to recognize the scene as an eyewitness (1.479–82):

> interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant
> crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant
> suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis;
> diua solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat.

> Meanwhile, the Trojan women were going with flowing tresses to the temple
> of unjust Pallas, and they were humbly bearing her robe, mourning and

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[52] Williams 1960, 148.

beating their breasts with their hands: but the goddess turned away and
kept her eyes fast upon the ground.

At the start of Book 6 of the *Iliad*, Helenus has approached Aeneas and Hector
to suggest that they rouse the Trojan troops and he further suggests to them both
that Hector should go into the city to get the women to make this offering of a
peplum and a sacrifice to Athena in the hope that she will call off the attack of
Diomedes.[53] Hector then goes on his own into the city to deliver the command
and the Trojan women make the offering that is then rejected. The scale of Aeneas'
own involvement in this episode in Book 6 of the *Iliad* is similar to his role in the
Rhesus of Euripides. He is marginally involved, as a foil for Hector, and then disap-
pears from view immediately. Virgil has carefully chosen another episode in which
Aeneas is not a protagonist but rather a very, very peripheral presence: paintings
of this sort he can identify reliably and without bias.[54]

   We now come to the climax of the *Iliad*, which is also the climax of Aeneas'
emotional response (1.483–7):

> ter circum Iliacos raptauerat Hectora muros
> exanimumque auro corpus uendebat Achilles.
> tum uero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo,
> ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici
> tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis.
>
> Achilles had dragged Hector three times around the walls of Troy and was
> selling his lifeless body for gold. Then indeed from the bottom of his heart
> he heaves a deep groan, as he catches sight of the spoils, the chariot, and the
> very corpse of his friend, and Priam stretching out his weaponless hands.

The description of Priam stretching out his hands is strongly reminiscent of the
scene of the ransom of Hector's body in the Pompeian portico (fig.   53). The
parallels from the *tabulae Iliacae* suggest that the missing right half of the picture
would have shown the cart by which Priam brought the ransom and by which
he would return his son's body to Troy.[55] It is interesting that Virgil goes out of
his way *not* to say that Aeneas saw the dragging of Hector's body represented:
that information is presented in the pluperfect, as background to the scene of
Priam's ransom of the body.[56] Is Virgil here confirming that this scene was actually
represented in the previous painting that Aeneas misidentified as Troilus? Aeneas'

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[53] For the representation of this scene on the *tabulae Iliacae*, see Brüning 1894, 149.

[54] Virgil is still engaged with the issues of visual and verbal media, however. His version, in which
the statue of Athena keeps her eyes fixed and averted, "corrects" the Homeric version in which the
statue seems to be said to throw its head back in a gesture of refusal (ἀνένευε, *Il.* 6.311). See Graziosi
and Haubold 2010, *ad loc*. and Barchiesi 1998.

[55] If *currus* has its normal meaning of "chariot" rather than "cart" here, perhaps we are meant to
imagine Hector's body still tied to Achilles' chariot.

[56] "The *dragging* is not represented in the picture, only the *selling*," Henry 1873–92, vol. 1, 720;
also Leach 1988, 316.

reliability as a viewer is put in further doubt at this very moment by the statement that the body of Hector had been dragged three times around the walls of Troy. That contradicts the *Iliad*, in which Achilles dragged Hector around the tomb of Patroclus three times (24.16). If we take this statement as Virgil's, it would simply be a case of his preferring to follow the Euripidean tradition, according to which the body was dragged around the walls of Troy.[57] But it seems more likely that this pluperfect statement is focalized, like the rest of the scene, through Aeneas' perspective. If we take Homer to be more authoritative than Euripides on Trojan matters, it seems as though Virgil is hinting that Aeneas' memory of events has been corrupted by other stories, other traditions. Aeneas could not have seen the continuing mistreatment of Hector's corpse in the Greek camp. He has heard rumors, however, and these have condensed into a false memory of having seen the body dragged around the walls.

As for the scene of the ransom of Hector's body in Achilles' tent, we might expect Aeneas to have difficulty identifying the scene, for he was not present with Priam. So far, Virgil has strictly alternated paintings for which Aeneas has good, first-hand knowledge and those for which his ignorance leads him into error: he understands the Trojan success in the first painting, but misidentifies Achilles as leading the Greek counterattack in the second; he easily recognizes the killing of Rhesus near the Trojan camp, but he misidentifies the killing of Troilus; he identifies the prayer of the Trojan women, and now we might naturally anticipate another misidentification. The error here, however, is more subtle. He sees the ransom, the body, the chariot and Priam, and deduces what is going on, even though he was not there himself. His error comes from what he assumes to have been the tenor of what happened in the exchange. As many readers have noted, his characterization of the transaction as Achilles "selling" Hector's body back to Priam is very strongly focalized through his Trojan perspective and biased against the Greek hero. By emphasizing the financial side of the transaction, turning Achilles into a butcher selling meat, Aeneas reveals a much profounder ignorance of the *Iliad* than ever before. He may not have known who was under Achilles' helmet when he first reappeared on the field of battle; he may not have been there when Troilus was killed; but these errors matter little in the end. Here he has made a correct inference from what Priam must have told him about his adventure into the Greek camp. This only serves to emphasize his ignorance on a much more profound level: what Priam did not tell him about that meeting with Achilles is much more important. Or perhaps he tried to tell Aeneas, who is not in a emotional position to comprehend the humanity of Achilles. For Priam and Achilles share a moment, the most important in the *Iliad*, when they grieve together and realize what they have in common. Achilles sees in Priam his own father, destined to die alone. Ultimately, he releases Hector's body as a gesture of respect toward

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[57] See Eur. *Andromache* 107–8.

the old man; the ransom is merely a routine formality and Zeus' command merely an externalization of Achilles' turn toward self-knowledge. Aeneas knows none of that.

There is a point to this parable of misreading the painting. Aeneas does not know that, immediately after the scene of Priam stretching out his hands at the feet of Achilles, the Greek hero takes him by those hands, raised him up and bids him to sit. He does not know of the tears they both shared, because he only knows the visual narrative; he does not know the text of Homer. Aeneas' failure to understand the moral lesson of the *Iliad* has enormous consequences for his own life. As many readers have seen, Aeneas' journey in the second half of the *Iliad* may be interpreted as his transformation into his nemesis, Achilles. The Sibyl makes a dire prediction of "another Achilles" (6.89), who seems at first to be Turnus; but as the Trojans turn from losers into winners, Aeneas, after the death of Pallas, his own Patroclus-figure, is the better fit for that description. One striking feature of this transformation is the lack of self-awareness shown by Aeneas. Why does he not see that he is following in the footsteps of the hated Achilles? The scene in the Temple of Juno tells us the answer. We discover here the limitations of Aeneas' perspective on the Trojan War. When the Sibyl warns Aeneas that the Trojan War is about to repeat itself in Italy, Aeneas' response is to wave away her concerns (6.103–5):

> incipit Aeneas heros: "non ulla laborum,
> o uirgo, noua mi facies inopinaue surgit;
> omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi."

> The hero Aeneas replied, "Suffering cannot come to me in any new or un-foreseen form, o maiden; I have foreseen all this and gone over it in my mind."

We know, however, because of Aeneas' failure to understand the Trojan paintings in Carthage, that he has not fully understood the events of that war and he cannot foresee how he will repeat the tragedy of Achilles. Hence the tragic irony of his prediction that suffering cannot come to him in any new form. He will repeat the Trojan War, but his experience will be new to him, if not to us.

Aeneas is therefore unaware of the quarrels and tensions in the Greek camp; he does not know the story of Achilles' anger. He knows bits and pieces from the narrative of the *Iliad*, like the Rhesus episode, but these are notable for their irrelevance to the main plot of the epic. Despite Virgil's initial, objective indication as author that the paintings showed "Achilles savage to both sides", Aeneas' subjective response shows clearly that he knows nothing of Achilles' wrath ($\mu\hat{\eta}\nu\iota\varsigma$) toward his own commander nor of its consequences for Achilles himself. For the Trojans, the fact that Patroclus happens to be wearing Achilles' armor when he is killed by Hector is one random and inexplicable detail among thousands, lost in the fog of war. This is why Aeneas does not recognize the pattern he is following in the latter books of the *Aeneid* after Pallas is killed. Furthermore, when Turnus

kneels before Aeneas at the very end of the epic, grants all that he wants, and invokes the pity of his own father and the memory of Aeneas' father, the poem ends with an unmistakable failure to achieve precisely the momentary resolution with which the *Iliad* ends. Aeneas is not only ignorant of the journey Achilles has made before him, but also of the lesson the Greek hero learned at its end.[58]

One school of Virgilian interpretation maintains that Aeneas turns into Achilles at the end of the *Aeneid*, but we can put it in terms stronger than that. He does not turn into the Achilles we meet at the end of the *Iliad*, who makes a gesture of respect and reconciliation toward his sworn enemy. He turns into the non-Homeric Achilles of his very own half-ignorant, caricatured, one-sided interpretation of the Trojan paintings: Achilles as the remorseless butcher. Or so one school of thought might put it. Some view Aeneas as righteously exacting an owed debt which it would have been shameful to forgive, as Octavian claimed to have done at Philippi. Others will view it as a betrayal of the nobler Roman values urged by Anchises in the underworld and as the moment in which Roman civil strife gets its founding charter. Whether or not one thinks Aeneas is justified in the anger that leads him to kill Turnus, and there are strong and plausible views on both sides, one thing is clear: with the final lines of the epic Aeneas becomes defined by his anger just as, from the first word of the *Iliad*, Achilles is defined by his anger. In this respect, those who view the anger of Aeneas at the end of the epic positively and those who view it negatively can agree in the importance of Aeneas recapitulating the role of Achilles in the final books of the epic. What makes this recapitulation possible is his ignorance of the plot of the *Iliad* as it unfolded in the Greek camp at Troy, regardless whether one reads it as a glorious redemption of the Homeric model or as tragic blindness.

Turning back to the paintings, we find that the post-Iliadic material puts Aeneas on firmer ground, or seems to. Virgil thus acutely illustrates how an observer confronted with an unfamiliar sequence of works of visual art may make progress in understanding one section, where several clues come together to illuminate a set of related images, while in another section the clues do not come together and the viewer remains baffled. Aeneas apparently identifies these correctly; they come one after another and are represented in very nearly the correct sequential order (1.488–93):

> se quoque principibus permixtum agnouit Achiuis,
> Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.
> ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
> Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,
> aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae
> bellatrix, audetque uiris concurrere uirgo.

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[58] On the verbal links between the death of Turnus at the end of the epic and Aeneas' response to Hector's body here, see the brilliant discussion of Elsner 2007, 86, anticipated in some respects by Lowenstam 1993, 41.

> He recognized himself, too, mingled with the Achaean chiefs, and the ranks
> of the East, and the armor of black Memnon. Penthesilea in fury leads
> columns of Amazons with their crescent shields and blazes amid her thou-
> sands, the warrior queen binding a golden belt below her naked breast: and
> she dares as a maiden to fight against men.

We have moved from the end of the *Iliad* to the start of the *Aethiopis*. This cyclic epic began with the arrival of Penthesilea, and her death was followed by the arrival of Memnon. It is significant that this pictorial cycle straddles the two epics: Aeneas' interpretation of the paintings has nothing to do with the texts from which our knowledge comes: the division between the *Iliad* and *Aethiopis* is meaningless for him. It is true that Memnon and Penthesilea occur in reverse order, but this merely serves to highlight Aeneas' tendency to jump around locally and his independence from the narrative order of the text.[59] If we put to one side for a moment the nuances of Aeneas' self-identification, which is presumably reliable, we see that he can hardly fail to identify Memnon and Penthesilea, for two-fold reasons. They were both important Trojan allies, who arrived after the action of the *Iliad* and would have fought side-by-side with Aeneas. They are also both of utterly distinctive appearance. Memnon is the only black hero in the Trojan cycle and Penthesilea is the only female warrior. In case their race and gender were not apparent in the images, Virgil further alludes to the distinctive weaponry of both: Memnon's, like Achilles', was forged by Vulcan.[60] The point of ending the ecphrasis with a run of correct identifications is to highlight by contrast the difficulty Aeneas has had with the Iliadic material, driven as that plot is by tensions within the enemy camp. The plot of the *Aethiopis*, by contrast, revolves around comings and goings of allies on the Trojan side rather than internal dynamics on the Greek side. It is not, therefore, that Aeneas is a fool or a bad viewer of the art, but that his perspective is limited as much as enhanced by being an actor in the events at Troy.

Another way in which Aeneas' bias as an actor is evident is in his identification of himself in the paintings, where he tells us suspiciously little about what he is doing here. The line about himself mixed up with the leading Greeks is by far the vaguest in the entire ecphrasis; it is not even clear if this is a separate painting

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[59] Moving Penthesilea into the final position also has the effect, as is well-known, of preparing us for Dido, who makes her entrance immediately afterward; see Austin 1971, *ad* 493. If Dido is fated to follow the fate of the tragic Amazon, then Aeneas is already in the very next scene on his way to becoming the Achilles who causes her death despite loving her.

[60] The African race of Memnon is frequently marked in Greek and Roman art with respect to skin color or features; see Snowden in *LIMC* 1.1.418–19, s.v. "Aithiopes". But it is often the case that the nature of the medium makes distinctions in skin color difficult, as in vase-painting, or that its conventions use skin color as a proxy for gender. Furthermore, Memnon's face and hair might be concealed by his helmet. In light of this potential for ambiguity, it is significant that Vergil explicitly specifies that Memnon is black in this painting and adds the additional distinguishing characteristic of his special armor.

or the same one in which Memnon appears. This vagueness has rightly attracted suspicion; some readers, as noted already by Servius, have seen this as an allusion to the tradition that Aeneas was in treacherous communication with the Greek enemy while at Troy.[61] I think it is true that the vagueness here indicates that Aeneas is suppressing some details, but there are other, more straight-forward, possibilities. If the Pompeian portico is any indication of the emphasis on Aeneas, even though it was probably influenced by this very passage of Virgil as well as by the Portico of Philippus, then Virgil's readers must have suspected that Aeneas has suppressed quite a bit about himself. The two scenes in the Pompeian portico depict him in less than heroic moments.[62] In one, he is a boy of five, being handed over by his distant and as yet uncaring mother, taking him from the nymph who has raised him to the father he does not yet know. In the other, that same mother is in the process of rescuing him from being killed in battle at the hands of Diomedes. Both his mother's distance as well as Aeneas' perpetual need of being rescued by her are reinforced by the previous scene in the *Aeneid*, in which she disguised herself to point Aeneas on the way to Carthage. Aeneas' suppression of the details of the manner of his appearance in Troy will have seemed to Virgil's readers an eloquent admission of the awkwardness of at least some of the moments in his own history.[63] This blindness to details that might reflect badly on himself is only human, but the emphasis on the limitations of a personal point of view should put us on our guard when listening to his own narration of the fall of Troy at the palace of Dido. Is it equally self-exculpatory? Virgil's readers might also have noted the absence of other scenes, such as the discovery of Achilles on Scyros we know from Pompeii. Aeneas would not be in a position to make any sense of that image if it were present, and moreover it would not fit with his one-sided view of Achilles as nothing but a butcher.

On the walls of Juno's temple in Carthage, Aeneas (mis)reads his own fate, just as unaware of the real meaning of the Iliadic story as he is oblivious to the images of Roman history in the epic's other extended ecphrasis, the shield forged for him by Vulcan. Or perhaps it is more correct to say that Aeneas is better served by the shield, which he cannot even begin to understand, than by the paintings, which he half understands but half misinterprets. This failure of hermeneutics should warn us against facile interpretations of the fictional portico. We come to the Temple of Juno, see the parallel with the decorative scheme of the Portico of Philippus and come to the conclusion that Virgil is hereby advertising his epic as the fulfillment

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[61] See Austin 1971, *ad* 242 and 488.

[62] This was not inevitable; Aeneas is far from an unheroic character in the *Iliad*: Galinsky 1969a, 11–8.

[63] For a parallel, see the discussion by Casali 1995 of how the ecphrasis of the Cretan tale on the doors of Daedalus' temple seems to end prematurely, just before mentioning Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne. Aeneas, who has just abandoned Dido, thus suppresses, in an ecphrasis focalized by him, an episode that would reflect uncomfortably upon himself.

of Augustus' demand for a new national epic. Then we see that the apparent key which Aeneas possesses for interpreting the Trojan paintings, his participation in the events depicted, is less reliable than he thinks. Despite being housed in the Temple of Juno, his sworn enemy, Aeneas interprets the paintings as if telling the Trojan tale from a perspective of sympathy for his side of the story.[64] Indeed, he does not seem to be aware that there might be another side to it. We should therefore be wary of using the Portico of Philippus as a key to interpreting this scene. The *Aeneid* as a pro-Augustan national epic, with Virgil playing Ennius to Augustus' Fulvius, embedding the now-ended annalistic history of the Republic within the story of the Julian family – all this is an important aspect of the epic, but is only one side of the story. We might even view this as a very concrete parable of interpretation. If Aeneas stands for Augustus here, as he so often does, then the Trojan paintings stand for the *Aeneid*, as many readers have already observed. Like Aeneas, Augustus will have approached this work confident of possessing a key to its interpretation. Aeneas lived through the Trojan War, and Augustus laid out the blueprint for the *Aeneid* in the decorative program of the Portico of Philippus and financed its writing. No doubt he had Virgil's personal word on his unhesitating support for the regime. But this parable of viewing teaches us that one can be blinded by insight. Having a special key to the interpretation of a work of art can, and usually does, mean ignoring those things that do not fit and misconstruing others. This is not to say that the Augustan interpretation of the *Aeneid* is not vitally important; but it is not the whole story. The Temple of Juno in Carthage links the structure of the *Aeneid* to the architecture of the Portico of Philippus and thus seems to authorize an Augustan interpretation of the poem; but Aeneas' misinterpretation of that monument immediately undermines that reading.

Horace's Laurel Crown

Virgil was not the only poet to respond to the challenge of the Portico of Philippus. In the next few sections, we will look at the reactions of Horace and Propertius to this same structure. Inevitably, these are strongly influenced by Virgil's metaphorical temple by the Mincius. Both of these poets defend their own choice of genre, lyric and elegy respectively, and decline the invitation to renew Ennian/Fulvian epic for Augustus. They differ, however, in the nature of the refusal. Horace represents his *Odes* as an answer to Augustus' call, but one that takes a different literary form. In some places he offers lyric as a second-best substitute for epic; in others he hints that what the world reckons as inferior is, to one who knows, rather superior. In any case, he can fairly claim that the *Odes* were delivered more promptly than the *Aeneid*. Propertius, by contrast, flatly refuses the invitation to epic and

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[64] Note that Zeuxis' portrait of Helen originally hung in the Temple of Hera (i.e. Juno) in Croton. It would be interesting to know the original context of Theorus' cycle.

casts his writing not as a substitute but an antithesis to what Virgil has promised to Augustus. Both poets can be seen to comment upon the progress of the *Aeneid* in somewhat skeptical terms. For Horace, we presume that this is offered in the spirit of friendly rivalry. There may be a sharper edge to Propertius' response, though opinions differ widely on his relationship to Augustan ideology. His most explicit allusion to the progress of the *Aeneid* can be taken in two different ways. When he says "nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade" (2.34.66), does he mean "something greater than the *Iliad* is being born", or just "something larger"? For a follower of Callimachus, who said "a big book is a big evil", bigger does not necessarily mean better.[65]

What is difficult to do is to think ourselves back to the days before the *Aeneid* was published, when it was still just an idea. While Horace was writing the first three books of the *Odes* and Propertius books two and three of his elegies, the success of Virgil's epic-in-progress was not a foregone conclusion. They did not think of him as a writer of epic but as a writer who had begun his career with an orthodox neoteric/Alexandrian rejection of epic. The surprising about-face announced by his Mantuan temple was still a recent memory and they will only have heard recited excerpts of Virgil's epic-in-progress, perhaps no more than scraps of Book 1. At this stage, the tension between Virgil's anti-epic past and his epic future was still an obvious paradox. It is not surprising that, in this narrow window of time, Virgil's contemporaries were reserving judgement about the outcome. Of course, once the *Aeneid* was published, matters changed. The fourth books of Horace's *Odes* and Propertius' elegies both look back on the *Aeneid* as an instant classic. They acknowledge that he managed to reconcile all of the apparently impossible contradictions that seemed earlier to stand in the way of its success: an epic encompassing the scope of both Homeric poems which nevertheless continued to adhere to a Callimachean aesthetic; a national epic on Roman history that managed to avoid the instant obsolescence of Ennius and his predecessors; a work for hire, whose architecture was dictated by an Augustan monument, but which nevertheless speaks the truth to power. At the moment in time we are concerned with, however, all this lay in the future and all that was evident was the scale of the problem Virgil had set himself.

The best place to begin our discussion of Horace's response to the invitation to Ennian epic embodied by the Portico of Philippus is at the end of the first collection of *Odes* (3.30):[66]

> Exegi monumentum aere perennius
> regalique situ pyramidum altius,

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[65] For a rendering of these lines as a parody of Virgil, see Ezra Pound's "Homage to Sextus Propertius XII" with J. F. Miller 2009, 75–8.

[66] The usual view is that the first three books of the *Odes* were published as a unit around 23 BC: Nisbet and Hubbard 1970, xxxv–vii; but the arguments made below would not need much modification if the books were published singly within a short span of years.

> I have constructed a monument more durable (or more Ennian?) than bronze,
> taller than the royal structure (or decay) of the pyramids.

Here Horace invokes the same metaphor as Virgil in the *Georgics*: the poem as a monument, a metaphor which surely goes back to the intimate connection between the *Annales* of Ennius and Fulvius' temple. Horace speaks here in the perfect tense of a completed construction, whereas Virgil speaks of the future. We saw that Virgil's Mantuan temple responded to the Portico of Philippus, especially in repeating the claim to have brought back the Muses to Italy for the first time. Despite the difference in genre, Horace makes a parallel claim here:

> dicar, qua uiolens obstrepit Aufidus
> et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
> regnauit populorum, ex humili potens
> princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
> deduxisse modos. sume superbiam
> quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica
> lauro cinge uolens, Melpomene, comam.

> Though of humble origin, I shall be spoken of where the fierce Aufidus roars and where Daunus, short of water, ruled over a rustic people, as the first with the power to have brought Aeolian lyric song to Italian measures. Accept the pride earned by our merits, Melpomene, and graciously encircle my hair with Delphic laurel.

Horace does not claim to have dragged the Muses to Italy: for him the Camenae have always been here, as we will see when discussing ode 3.4. He does make the more realistic, if still slightly exaggerated, claim to have been the first to bring Greek lyric poetry to Latin. The Muse is not far away, however, crowning Horace with laurel from Delphi at the end. Thus we also have an image of the poet as victor. The combination of these motifs – the poem as monument, being the first to take something from Greece to Italy, the poet as *triumphator*, and the presence of the Muse – make it certain that Horace is responding to Virgil's Mantuan temple and its engagement with the Portico of Philippus.[67] Virgil's future temple will sit proudly by the river of his hometown of Mantua; Horace is equally proud of his native land and its river. Whereas the Mincius flowed lazily around a bend, Horace's roars vigorously. There is a Callimachean contrast here between the wide but slow and sluggish Mincius (*tardis flexibus*) and the small (*pauper aquae*) but vigorous (*violens*) Aufidus. There may also be a glance at Virgil's slowness in fulfilling his promise to Augustus in contrast to Horace's prompt completion of the *Odes*.

Virgil may have promised a national epic, but Horace has actually delivered an Augustan work for the ages. The precise nature of the relationship of the completed

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[67] Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 376 think otherwise, but the differences they cite with respect to the Virgilian passage are what make this a friendly challenge to Virgil.

Odes to the unfinished (and indeed never-to-be-finished) *Aeneid* is encoded by the reference to Delphic laurel. When Virgil pictured his triumph by the Mincius, he adorned his head with an olive wreath while leading the procession to his temple.[68] Virgil's references in this passage to Pindar's Olympian Odes make it clear that he is imagining himself specifically as an Olympic victor, who did in fact wear crowns of olive.[69] The Olympic games were the most prestigious athletic contest in the Greek world, but there was another set of quadrennial games that ran it a close second in importance. These were the Pythian games held at Delphi, whose victors were crowned, like Horace, with laurel. So Horace is making a very precise statement about his relationship to Virgil's efforts to become the new Ennius. He is competing in a parallel but distinct competition: a Pythian victor right now in contrast to Virgil's daydream of an Olympic victory in the future. Perhaps epic is the most prestigious genre, but lyric is not too far off, and at this point Horace is the victor, having run his race and earned his prize; Virgil's victory is still a fantasy by the Mincius. It was Virgil who set up the agonistic, athletic metaphor, so it is appropriate that Horace teases his friend by pointing out that he has crossed the finish-line first.

When the Muse crowns Horace, she is not only paying him a personal compliment by commending his work as a lyric poet; she is also approving his strategy of engaging with the model of her Roman dwelling-place, the Portico of Philippus. Horace's architectural metaphor inevitably engages with the Augustan building program. The superior durability of Horace's monument brings to mind the Mausoleum of Augustus, as well as the pyramids of the Pharaohs. The Mausoleum proclaimed a text (the *Res Gestae*), just as Fulvius' temple had its *fasti* and its relationship to the *Annales*. This concluding poem announces that, despite his rejection of the epic genre, Horace has hereby submitted his response to Augustus' call for the poets of Rome to replace Ennius' epic. Hence, perhaps, Horace calls his own version of this monument *perEnnius*, or thoroughly Ennian. Is may not look it, says Horace, but my monument is as worthy a replacement for the Roman national epic as any *Aeneid*.[70] Here, he is thinking not just of the *Odes* as a whole, but especially of the Roman Odes. In the next section we will examine their engagement with the Portico of Philippus and with Virgil's epic-in-progress. But first we will look at another ode that will help to articulate Horace's view of the *Aeneid* and its relationship to his own work.

Many readers believe that Horace gave Virgil a coded warning of the dangers of attempting to write heroic epic in the third poem in the first book of *Odes* (1.3). On the surface, this poem is a *propempticon*, an expression of good wishes to his friend

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[68] "ipse caput tonsae foliis ornatus oliuae / dona feram," *Georg.* 3.31–2.

[69] He also alludes to the Nemean and Isthmean games at *Georg.* 3.19–20.

[70] This engagement with the Latin epic tradition and Horace's teasing skepticism toward the *Aeneid*-in-progress may help to explain why Ovid concludes his epic *Metamorphoses* (15.871–9) with such a prominent allusion to this lyric poem, including the Ennian pun (875).

Virgil as he sets off on a sea-voyage to Greece. The poem enumerates the dangers of sea-travel and curses the hubris of those who first attempted it. The problem is that the biographical tradition around Virgil speaks of no visit to Greece until the final, abortive trip on which he died, years after the publication of the first three books of the *Odes*. It has been suggested, therefore, though not to universal agreement, that this mysterious trip is purely metaphorical, a way of speaking about the voyage Virgil has just embarked upon by composing the *Aeneid*.[71] On this reading, this poem is a particularly sophisticated form of *recusatio*. Virgil used the metaphor of the sea himself in the *Georgics* to express the dangers of epic (2.40–5), and the image of the sea for epic, particularly in a negative sense, was already well established in Latin poetry, having been adapted from Callimachus.[72] Horace's poem has a number of allusions to the *Georgics* and also, apparently, to the storm at the start of the *Aeneid*, still under construction. Horace wishes his friend Virgil well on his daring epic voyage, but leaves us in no doubt about how risky an undertaking he feels it to be. In the Mediterranean, sea-voyages are not the only way to get where you want to go. Horace will arrive at the destination selected by Augustus, but he will get there in a vehicle of his own choosing.

Horace as Priest of the Muses

The vehicle Horace chooses for his alternative offering to Augustus consists of the so-called Roman Odes. These are a sequence of six poems at the start of the third book which stand out from the rest on account of their uniformity of meter, their addressees, who are the Roman people rather than individual friends, and their themes, which are on the grand public ambitions of the Augustan cultural program rather than private concerns. Horace begins by giving us a clear sense of the new persona he is adopting in these poems:

> Odi profanum uolgus et arceo.
> fauete linguis: carmina non prius
>   audita Musarum sacerdos
>   uirginibus puerisque canto.
>
> I hate the unholy crowd and keep them away. Do not break the propitious silence: as priest of the Muses, I sing for boys and girls songs not heard before.

Horace speaks in these poems with a very specific identity: priest (*sacerdos*) of the Muses, in pointed contrast to the last poem of the previous book in which he referred to himself as a "prophet" (*vates*, 2.20.3), as Augustan poets frequently did. The claim made here is different and distinctive.[73] There is an enormous difference

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[71] See Kidd 1977 and more recently Harrison 2007, 29–31.
[72] See Heslin 2011, 54–5.
[73] On its significance, see Woodman 1984.

between the metaphor of a prophet, who may operate on his own account, and a metaphorical priest, who is claiming a role in public, Roman state cult. This crucial distinction was emphasized by Lyne, but it has often been ignored.[74] A *vates* implies no place of worship, no institutional support. A *sacerdos* in Roman religion must have a cult and a place of worship, which is generally a temple. The commentators will hasten to point out that there was no cult of the Muses and hence no such role as priest of the Muses in Roman state religion.[75] This is quite true, and it is important to acknowledge this: Horace would never have made a fictional claim in his poetry to be the priest of a real cult. There must have been, however, a real priest of Hercules of the Muses, and Horace's invented priesthood will surely have recalled that one. Sadly, we know nothing about the holders of this priesthood. For the post of *magister* of the *collegium poetarum scribarum*, we have at least the career of P. Cornelius Surus as an example, as we saw in the previous chapter. For the priesthood, however, we do not know what sort of individual would have held the post.

In any case, Horace is not claiming to be the priest of Fulvius' newly renovated temple, Rome's ersatz temple of the Muses. He is claiming to be a metaphorical priest of a somewhat different temple, a proper sanctuary of the Muses, hence a true Museum. The point of this gesture is to situate the Roman Odes within an imaginary temple which is similar to, but importantly different from, Fulvius' renovated temple. In this, Horace follows the path of Virgil in the *Georgics*, who had created his Mantuan temple as a response to the demand for an epic embodied in the Portico of Philippus. The difference is that Virgil seemed to promise the delivery of an epic which, in form at least, was to be written to Augustus' specifications. Horace, by contrast, is resolute in the *Odes* that he is incapable of writing an epic. That does not mean, however that he will not give Augustus something of different form which satisfies some of the same requirements. In this section we will examine the sustained architectural metaphor throughout the Roman Odes by which Horace presents them as a substitute for the national epic he has refused to write. The Portico of Philippus supplies the ideological and architectural context for the Roman Odes as much as for Virgil's Mantuan temple, his temple of Juno and the structure of the *Aeneid*.

The parallel with Virgil's Mantuan temple is brought out in the same phrase in which Horace claims the mantle of priest of the imaginary Roman Museum. He says that here he will sing songs for a chorus of boys and girls which have never been heard before. In part this is a routine claim for primacy as an innovator in using Greek lyric meters in Latin, but it is also the familiar trope of evoking a predecessor at the very moment of claiming supreme originality. This is what Virgil did when he claimed to be the first to bring the Muses back to his native land, simultaneously

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[74] Lyne 1995, 184–5.
[75] See Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 8.

evoking Fulvius' sack of Ambracia and Ennius' evocation of the Greek Muses in Latin for the first time. Horace is not the first to write lyrics in Latin, and the predecessor he simultaneously evokes and denies here is Livius Andronicus. Virgil evoked Ennius and the founding of the original Temple of Hercules Musarum in his Mantuan promise of a future epic, but Horace reaches farther into the past. He looks back to the founding of the *collegium poetarum* as a thank-offering for the hymn written at the request of the Roman senate by Livius for a chorus of 27 girls. The *collegium* subsequently moved, as we have seen, to Fulvius' temple. With this gesture, Horace tops Virgil by reaching back beyond Ennius to Livius, and in so doing reminds us that epic is not the only literary genre which has been of service to the Roman state. Virgil's Mantuan temple was the starting-point of a triumphal procession, and in this regard, too, Horace's model can provide an alternative. Livy (27.37) records that the occasion of the performance of Livius' hymn was a procession which set out from the Temple of Apollo near the Carmental Gate. This must have been the predecessor of Sosius' temple, very near the later site of Fulvius' temple. The procession made its way into the forum, and thence up to the Temple of Juno on the Aventine. Virgil's analogy for the progress of his own poetry involves a quasi-triumphal procession from the Mantuan Circus Flaminius in the *Georgics* to the Temple of Palatine Apollo in the *Aeneid*; Horace's will run from the hymn in this imaginary temple of the Muses on the Circus Flaminius to the subsequent singing of his *carmen saeculare* by a choir of boys and maidens on the Palatine and Capitol.[76]

Horace's poem goes on to survey the forms of human vanity, including a candidate for office campaigning in the Campus Martius (11), a subtle reminder of the implicit location of Horace's imaginary temple. The various follies of human ambition are cataloged, and a climax is reached with the hubris of the extravagant builder: one man is so unsatisfied with his land that he builds his house out into the sea (33–40). This leads into the final moral of the poem, which is that sorrow and care are not soothed by the use of expensive marble and other luxuries. The poet then turns to his own choices (45–8):

> cur inuidendis postibus et nouo
> sublime ritu moliar atrium?
>   cur ualle permutem Sabina
>   diuitias operosiores?
>
> Why should I build a house in the latest style with an imposing courtyard and doorposts that will incite envy? Why should I exchange my Sabine valley for overwrought luxuries?

Horace is not in this poem addressing Roman property developers.[77] His own dwelling-place serves as an architectural metaphor for his work and brings us back

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[76] J. F. Miller 2009, 270–88.
[77] The joke is from Woodman 1984, 94.

to the imaginary temple whose priest he declared himself to be at the start of the poem. In contrast to Virgil's Mantuan temple with its marble, gold and ivory, Horace's metaphorical structure will be made of less ambitious material. The "new style" of building which Horace shuns is grandiose and epic; this is an implicit *recusatio*. The doorposts of the grand building that invite envy thus recall the brilliant, richly decorated doors of Virgil's Mantuan temple, on which the defeat of Envy herself is depicted (*Georg.* 3.37). Both of these passages thus refer back to the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, in which Envy expresses a preference for bombastic poetry. Horace here perhaps expresses some gentle doubt regarding Virgil's ability to write a grand epic which at the same time deflects the charge of bombast. Horace has a different strategy for reconciling the demands of Augustus and those of Callimachus. The reference to the modest Sabine farm given him by Maecenas stands in contrast to the building work done in the name of Philippus and also to the larger donations of wealth made by Augustus to Virgil.[78] Horace is echoing Virgil's praise at the end of the second book of the *Georgics* for the modest life of the farmer, who does not need a stately mansion.[79] He thereby points out the tension between that aspect of Virgil's Epicurean outlook and the grandiosity of the temple he has promised to build for the emperor. By expressing his preference for building a modest house, both in real terms and as a metaphor for his poetry, Horace thus aligns himself with the preferences of Augustus himself, who was ostentatiously modest in this regard.[80] Just as the house of Augustus was modest in comparison with the gleaming Temple of Apollo next door, so the apparently modest pretensions of Horace's *Odes* are set in relief by the ongoing construction of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

The next ode, which (in)famously claims that it is "sweet and fitting to die for one's country", is less obviously concerned with metapoetic metaphors. Nevertheless, there may be some implicit reference to Horace's own choice of genre. At the end of the poem, he declares that he does not want to share a roof or a boat with a man who divulges the unsayable, such as the mysteries of Ceres, for fear that he may share in the punishment of the wicked (3.2.25–32). A metapoetic reading of these lines is suggested by the fact that they allude to two episodes from the life of the poet Simonides, whose words on the virtue of discreet silence Horace has just translated a few lines before. The Greek poet miraculously avoided death twice, once in a shipwreck and once in the collapse of the palace of a patron.[81] Thus Horace resolves not to share a roof or a ship with anyone who invites the punishment of the gods. The combination of the grand building (*trabibus*, 28) and the ship (*phaselon*, 29) unites Horace's two metaphors for epic, and the reference

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[78] Note Horace's posthumous attribution to the young Virgil of "studium lucri" (enthusiasm for money, *Odes* 4.12.25), though some scholars argue that this is not the same Virgil.

[79] See *Georg.* 2.461: "foribus domus alta superbis," with Nisbet and Rudd 2004, *ad* 3.1.

[80] Thus Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 20.

[81] See Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 30, 34.

to the punishment by Jupiter recalls the thunderbolt with which over-bold sailors are punished at the end of the *propempticon* to Virgil (1.3.39–40). Is Horace here making a tongue-in-cheek refusal once again to join Virgil both in his new temple and in the boat by which he is setting sail on the treacherous sea of epic?

With the next poem (3.3), the confrontation between Horatian poetics and the Augustan demand for epic returns to center-stage. In this ode, Horace begins by asserting that the righteous man has no fear. The examples of potential threats include the wind that troubles a sailor on the Adriatic and Jupiter's thunderbolt (4–6). This mainly refers to the virtue of Augustus, of course, but given the quasi-epic tone of this ode, there might be a glance back at the *propempticon* for Virgil, recasting the hubris in that poem in terms of self-possession. Horace then looks forward to the coming apotheosis of Augustus by reviewing other heroes who have attained divinity on account of their benefactions to mankind: Pollux, Hercules, Bacchus and Romulus. Given the emphasis on Troy in the rest of the ode, it is curious that Aeneas is excluded from this list, especially in view of the *Aeneid*-in-progress. The rest of the poem is set in a council of the gods, a quintessential feature of epic since Homer. The matter under discussion is the admission of Romulus to heaven, and most of the poem is taken up by Juno's speech in which she sets aside her opposition with the proviso that Troy never rise again.

If we conceive of Horace's imaginary Museum, a fictional poetic analog of the Portico of Philippus, as the setting for this poem, in which Horace continues to speak as priest of the Muses, we can identify what may be references to its decorative program in Juno's tirade. She begins her litany of grievance with the judgement of Paris and the adultery of Helen (19–20) and then turns to the perjury of Laomedon, who cheated Apollo and Neptune out of their payment for building the walls of Troy (21–2). We saw earlier that a painting from the Casa di Sirico of these two gods as they were building the walls has some stylistic similarities to the paintings in the Temple of Apollo and may have been related to that cycle. Next, Juno mentions Paris again and the adulterous Helen (25–6). We may think of Zeuxis' *Helen*, and Paris must have been represented in one or more of the paintings of Theorus. Finally, she mentions Hector, leading the Trojans to drive back the Greeks. We may be reminded of the subject of the first painting that Aeneas sees in Carthage.

It is likely that some parts of Virgil's *Aeneid* had been recited to members of Maecenas' circle before Virgil's death, and there is some evidence for this with respect to the first book of the epic. When Propertius mentions the progress of the epic in his second book (2.34.61–4), he clearly seems to allude to its opening lines.[82] Horace's *propempticon* for Virgil, regardless whether one reads its account of the dangers of the sea as a metaphor for writing epic, seems to have echoes of language not only from the *Georgics*, but also of the storm that Juno sends against

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[82] See Heyworth 2007, 275.

the Trojans in the first book of the *Aeneid*.[83] If one accepts that Horace knew at least some bits of the first book of the *Aeneid*, we may take this speech of Juno as a correction, in the goddess' own words, of Virgil's representation of Aeneas' view of the Trojan War as expressed in her Carthaginian temple. Juno has no sympathy for the Trojans here at all. Aeneas' general interpretation of the sympathetic intention behind the cycle is as wrong-headed as his interpretation of the individual Iliadic scenes. The link between the two passages is provided by the Portico of Philippus, which is the Roman context evoked by both Virgil's temple and Horace's Roman Odes.

The other passage of the *Aeneid* which has potential links with this ode is the discussion between Jupiter and Juno at the end of the epic in which the goddess puts aside her enmity to the Aeneas' people, at least for the moment (12.791–842). Jupiter begins by looking forward to Aeneas' apotheosis, making good on Horace's omission in this ode. Juno's price is that the name and the ethnic distinctiveness of Trojans must disappear as they are mingled with the Latins. This seems to echo the most distinctive feature of Juno's speech in Horace's ode, which is the vehemence of her insistence that Troy must not rise again. If it is true that Horace has commented upon the first book of the *Aeneid*-in-progress in this ode, then perhaps Virgil has returned the compliment by alluding to Horace's ode in the final speech of his Juno. Horace's Juno stipulates that Troy must remain a ruin, with the sea lying between it and Rome. Her condition is this (3.3.58–60):

> ne nimium pii
> rebusque fidentes auitae
> tecta uelint reparare Troiae.

> They [the Romans] must not, excessively pious and too trusting in their success, endeavor to repair the buildings of ancestral Troy.

The vehemence of this particular point has puzzled critics. Who wanted to rebuild Troy in its original location? What does it mean to be excessively *pius*? We can take our cue from this poem's engagement with and critique of the *Aeneid* and the prevalence of building as a metaphor for poetry in the Roman Odes. One way of reading the end of Juno's speech is as a warning against rebuilding Troy in poetry, that is, of challenging Homer.

Juno declares that, if Troy is rebuilt, she will destroy it (65–8):

> ter si resurgat murus aeneus
> auctore Phoebo, ter pereat meis
> excisus Argiuis, ter uxor
> capta uirum puerosque ploret.

> If the bronze wall should rise for a third time with the help of Apollo, three times would it be destroyed, uprooted by my Greeks, three times the captive wife would lament for her husband and sons.

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[83] See Harrison 2007, 31.

If we are right to see a metapoetic dimension to Juno's imperative that Troy not be built again, then we should view the *Aeneid* as potentially the third in the line of unsuccessful Roman attempts to emulate Homer. The first generation of builders were those poets who wrote in native Saturnian meter, such as Livius Andronicus, who translated the *Odyssey*, and Naevius, who traced Roman history back to Aeneas and Troy. These were superseded by Ennius, who was the first to write Latin epic in Homer's meter. Even though he dreamed he was the reincarnation of Homer, a subsequent generation decided that this estimation was implausibly over-optimistic and found Ennius as backward as he had found his own predecessors.[84] So the two earlier efforts to rebuild Troy by writing a Latin epic to rival Homer had foundered. What of Virgil's third attempt? Precedent was not encouraging. It is difficult for us to rid ourselves of the knowledge that the *Aeneid* was to become an unqualified success. At the time when Horace was writing this poem, Virgil had never attempted anything like it in scale or in theme. It was a highly risky undertaking and one possible outcome was pre-ordained Ennian obsolescence. The great poets of Hellenistic Alexandria had wisely refrained from challenging Homer directly, and the young Virgil had followed the examples of Theocritus and Aratus.

Horace concludes by addressing the Muse, goddess of his temple, scolding her for ignoring his own wise counsel of avoiding epic bombast (69–72):

> non hoc iocosae conueniet lyrae.
> quo, Musa, tendis? desine pervicax
>   referre sermones deorum et
>   magna modis tenuare paruis.

> This is not suitable for my light-hearted lyre. Muse, where are you heading?
> Stop it, you naughty girl: don't report the speeches of the gods and diminish
> great deeds with these trivial measures.

In the very act of reporting the words of Juno as she threatens those who would rebuild Troy by writing a Latin national epic, Horace is in danger of falling foul of that very same threat. So he renounces his claim to grand, epic themes and reasserts that his own style of poetry is very different indeed. He does not renounce serious themes of national consequence, for we are only half-way through the Roman Odes. It is not Augustan topics but epic forms that Horace rejects. Horace thus contrives to have his epic cake and eat it, too, staging an epic council of the gods to authorize his rejection of epic.

Horace the priest continues to address the Muse in the next ode. He summons Calliope to him on the analogy of Greek lyric invocations, but also on the basis of his authority as her priest. She accompanies him in a song that recounts the protection that had been afforded to Horace since he was a baby by the Camenae, the Latin nymphs who had become assimilated to the Muses. Thus Horace presents

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[84] See Hinds 1998, 69–74.

his special relationship with the Latin Muses as something that existed before his association with the Augustan regime. These are not Greek Muses who had to be captured and brought back as booty; they are indigenous to Italy. The fulcrum of the poem is the stanza in which Horace turns from his own relationship to the Camenae to Augustus' relationship with them (3.4.37–40):

> uos Caesarem altum, militia simul
> fessas cohortes abdidit oppidis,
>   finire quaerentem labores
>   Pierio recreatis antro;

> You [Camenae] in your Pierian cave refresh great Caesar, who seeks an end
> to his toils after hiding his war-weary troops away in the towns.

The moment in time is clearly marked: just after Actium, when Ocatavian had returned for his triple triumph and was settling his veterans.[85] In other words, this was the time when the Portico of Philippus was being dedicated, along with other monuments, such as the Temple of Palatine Apollo. In this context, with Horace as priest of the Muses, the Pierian grotto may allude to the Portico of Philippus. It was Augustus who renovated the Muses' home, but Horace inverts the conceit to claim that they, by way of returning the favor, refreshed him as much as he did them. The influence of the Muses was to bring the new age of peace that followed Actium. The rest of the poem alludes allegorically to that epochal struggle by describing the battle of the Olympian gods against the monstrous giants. Not only was this a regular metaphor for Actium in Augustan ideology; it was also a classic type of bombastic epic in Hellenistic literary criticism. Thus Horace continues to demonstrate how his preferred lyric mode can accommodate even the largest subjects.

The next poem is the Regulus Ode, which might at first seem to have little in common with the themes which we have been examining. It tells the story of the Roman general in the first Punic war who was captured by the Carthaginians and was sent back to Rome to negotiate the ransom of his men. When he arrived, he urged the Senate not to pay but to send him back to his own death. There are no Muses, no metapoetic temples, no epic motifs. But there is this (3.5.18–21):

> "signa ego Punicis
>   adfixa delubris et arma
>   militibus sine caede" dixit
> "derepta uidi"

> I myself have seen our standards mounted in Carthaginian temples and
> weapons surrendered by our soldiers.

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[85] Some commentators (e.g. D. A. West 2002, 50–1) think this refers to an episode just after Actium when Virgil read the *Georgics* to Augustus, who was suffering from a sore throat. Horace is, however, talking about the power of art to do more than cure tonsillitis.

Here we have an account of the decoration of an early Carthaginian temple. It is not adorned with paintings of the Trojan War; it has captured Roman standards and weapons for decoration. Once again, Horace seems to be critiquing Virgil's depiction of the Temple of Juno in Carthage and Aeneas' reading of it, when he took it as a sign of Carthaginian sympathy. In poem 3.3, Juno gives her emphatic view of the Trojan War, in which all of the blame attaches to the Trojan side. Here, it is the turn of the Carthaginians to speak via their temples. They do not care about Troy either way; their history is of war with Rome. Even in this passing reference to the *Aeneid*, Horace manages to insinuate that his lyric art is able to present a more realistic and indeed patriotic view of Roman history than Virgilian epic. Whatever sense of duty Aeneas showed by leaving Carthage, Regulus showed far more by returning there. The episode of Regulus was probably narrated by Ennius, and the account of the Carthaginian practice of hanging up Roman spoils may go back to Livius Andronicus.[86] So once again Horace subsumes into his lyric project patriotic themes that might seem more at home in epic, while subtly critiquing Virgil's approach to the project of writing an Augustan poem.

The final Roman Ode is the one most explicitly connected with the building works of Augustus and his program of temple renovation (3.6.1–4):

> Delicta maiorum inmeritus lues,
> Romane, donec templa refeceris
>   aedisque labentis deorum et
>   foeda nigro simulacra fumo.
>
> Though innocent, Roman, you will pay for the crimes of your forefathers
> until you have repaired the sanctuaries and the crumbling temples of the
> gods and the statues filthy with black smoke.

The building of the Portico of Philippus was, of course, an important part of this project of paying renewed attention to the gods' shrines. In adopting the persona of priest of the Muses, Horace aligned his own poetic project with the architectural project of Augustan renewal. We expect, therefore, that the piety of the Augustan age will set all to rights and bring back a golden age of harmony between gods and men. The final stanza has therefore come as a shock to many readers (45–8):

> damnosa quid non inminuit dies?
> aetas parentum peior auis tulit
>   nos nequiores, mox daturos
>   progeniem uitiosiorem.
>
> What does destructive time not diminish? The era of our fathers was worse
> than our grandfathers' and brought us forth, worse still, who are soon to
> give birth to even more depraved offspring.

This Hesiodic vision of progressive and inevitable decay seems to render futile Augustus' project of renovation. If we are correct in reading the references to building

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[86] See Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 82 and *ad* 18–21.

and construction in the Roman Odes as linked, via Horace's persona as priest of
the Muses, to the Portico of Philippus and thence to Augustus' search for a writer
of epic, then we can also read this ending of the Roman Odes on a metapoetic
level. The pessimism seems to contradict the position Horace takes in his literary
criticism, which is that Rome's older literature is sometimes preferred to modern
writing just because it is old and not because it is good. That progressive attitude
toward Latin literature seems to give way here to a more Greek attitude, in which
literature begins with Homer and never attains the same height again. Does Ho-
race hint here at three generations of progressive epic decline: Homer, Ennius,
Virgil? The success of the *Aeneid* makes such an idea almost unthinkable to us,
but once upon a time it may not have been so to Virgil's contemporaries, even
among his friends.

Propertius' Cynthia and Zeuxis' Helen

So far, we have examined two positive responses to the program of the Portico of
Philippus. Virgil promises and then delivers an alternative national epic which is
structured around the Trojan heritage of the Julian family. Horace refuses the form
of epic but offers the Roman Odes as an alternative, constructing them around a
priestly persona inspired by the Portico of Philippus, and reflecting a profoundly
Augustan view of the Roman national character. We now turn to the response of
Propertius, who was not so biddable. He, too, reacts to the Portico of Philippus,
but in a way that constantly asserts his independence of genre, theme, style and
thought. He was not going to be told by Augustus what or how to write. At the
start of his second book, he writes (2.1.3–4):[87]

> non haec Calliope, non haec mihi cantat Apollo.
>   ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit.

> It is not Calliope who sings these things to me, nor Apollo; my girlfriend
> herself creates my genius.

Here again, Apollo and the Muses are combined, but whereas Virgil brought both
of their Augustan buildings together to inspire his Mantuan temple, Propertius
brings them together to reject the notion of writing to imperial order. Propertius'
most sustained engagement with the Portico of Philippus occurs in the first five
elegies of his third book, which, as many scholars have seen, are a detailed riposte
to Horace's Roman Odes. We will look at those in the next section, but first we
will look at a few poems from his second book. It is significant that Propertius'
most extensive engagement with the art in Portico of Philippus studiously ignores
the Trojan cycle and its Augustan implications; instead he focusses upon Zeuxis'

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[87] Propertius is quoted mainly after the text of Barber, with a few changes, mentioned in the
footnotes.

nude portrait of Helen of Troy. Thus he contrives to have the Portico of Philippus inspire a deeply un-Augustan elegy.

Propertius 2.3 is a poem that has not fired much critical discussion, for it seems at first glance an oddly unsatisfying and self-contradictory sort of elegy. The poet begins by lamenting his lack of success in living without his beloved, who is unnamed here but is presumably Cynthia, as usual (lines 1–8). Then he proceeds to explain the hold she has over him. He claims that it is not so much her beauty that is the source of her power, but nevertheless spends four couplets in a sort of *praeteritio* that catalogs various of her physical charms (9–16). He is more smitten by her intangible qualities, her dancing, her singing and her poetry (17–22). The poet then goes on to assert that there is something uncanny and more than mortal about her, comparing her beauty to Helen's (23–32). This reference to Helen brings us to the Trojan War, and the poet claims he can now understand how it could have been caused by one woman. He sympathises with Paris and Menelaus and claims that Helen's beauty was worth Achilles' death. He concludes by urging painters to take his mistress as a model, if they wish to surpass the fame of the old masters. The contradiction which readers have noted in its logic lies in Propertius' early emphatic rejection of Cynthia's beauty as her most important attribute, while later in the poem comparing her at length to Helen, explicitly in respect of her beauty (*forma*, 32).[88]

There is a hidden key which can resolve the contradiction and explain what Propertius is up to here; it is signaled at the end of the poem, where he moves from discussing Helen to invoking famous paintings by old masters. This makes it clear that in the preceding lines he was adverting to one painting in particular (33–8):

> hac ego nunc mirer si flagrat nostra iuuentus?
>   pulchrius hac fuerat, Troia, perire tibi.
> olim mirabar, quod tanti ad Pergama belli
>   Europae atque Asiae causa puella fuit:
> nunc, Pari, tu sapiens et tu, Menelae, fuisti,
>   tu quia poscebas, tu quia lentus eras.
> digna quidem facies, pro qua uel obiret Achilles;
>   uel Priamo belli causa probanda fuit.

> Should I now wonder if today's youth is aroused by her? Troy, for her you would more fittingly have perished. Once I used to wonder that a girl was the cause of so great a war at Pergamon for Europe and Asia. Now I see that both of you, Paris and Menelaus, were wise; the one because you wanted

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[88] Spelman 1999 rightly builds his interpretation of this elegy around its apparent logical inconsistency, but his solution, which has recourse to a psychological explanation, is unconvincing. The contradiction in the elegy appears to be on the superficial level of logic and sense rather than subconscious. Heyworth 2007, 118 agrees that there is "some incoherence" and correctly insists that it must be "tactical" rather than a sign of inattention. Here I attempt to explain the poetic strategy which this odd tactic aims at.

her back and the other because you were slow to give. Her face is worthy of causing the death of Achilles; as the cause of the war, she was approved even by Priam.

As Goold noted, the Homeric model for the last couplet is the passage where Helen approaches the elders of Troy by the city walls (*Il.* 3.154–8):[89]

οἳ δ' ὡς οὖν εἴδονθ' Ἑλένην ἐπὶ πύργον ἰοῦσαν,
ἦκα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον·
οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιῆδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·
αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇς εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν·

Now when they saw Helen coming to the wall they softly spoke winged words to one another: "Small blame that the Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans should for a long time suffer misery for such a woman; she is marvelously like the immortal goddesses to look upon …"

Priam then greets Helen warmly and says that she was not the cause of the war. Propertius develops variations on the reaction of Priam and the Trojan elders to the beauty of Helen and their evaluation of her blame, and makes several pointed contrasts, too. He highlights the reaction of young men (*iuuentus*, 33) to Cynthia rather than Trojan elders to Helen, and the elision of old men from the scene (apart from Priam) means that no one remains to cast any blame on Helen. Propertius also subtly modifies Priam's response: whereas in Homer he says that Helen is not to blame because the gods and not she are the real cause (αἰτίη, 164) of the war, this position would not suit Propertius' rhetoric. So he has Priam absolve her *even though* she is the cause (*causa*, 40). Nevertheless, the central aesthetic idea is the same in Homer and Propertius: that the measure of the beauty of Helen (or Cynthia) is the effect it has had on the men around her.

As we know, two of those lines from the *Iliad* were inscribed on Zeuxis' *Helen*. Since in the second book of Propertius "datable events fall between 28 and 25", this poem was written in the period immediately subsequent to the dedication and opening of the Portico of Philippus in which Zeuxis' painting was displayed to the public.[90] In case the reader did not immediately look beyond the Homeric reference to consider the link to Zeuxis, Propertius provided a hint in the subsequent couplet, which the large majority of editors have rightly identified as the ending of the poem (41–4):

si quis uult fama tabulas anteire uetustas,
    hic dominam exemplo ponat in arte meam:
siue illam Hesperiis siue illam ostendet Eois,
    uret et Eoos, uret et Hesperios.

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[89] See Goold 1990, 113, n. 13.
[90] Goold 1990, 2.

> If any painter wishes to outdo the ancient masters in fame, let him place
> my mistress as the model for his art. Whether he shows her to the West or
> to the East, he will set both East and West aflame.

The reference to the public exhibition (*ostendet*, 43) of ancient paintings (*tabulas
… uetustas*, 41) makes it certain that we must read the allusion to the Homeric
lines about Helen's beauty in the specific context of their inscription in Zeuxis'
painting.[91] Recall that, as Lessing understood, the inscription elucidated the lim-
itations of verbal art in attempting to convey visual beauty. Once we understand
Propertius' poem as a meditation on the difference between words and images,
the contradiction resolves itself. Propertius begins by de-emphasizing Cynthia's
beauty, because it is impossible to convey in words. His mini-catalog of her phys-
ical charms becomes vague and pointless, as Zeuxis and Lessing knew it had to be.
The end of the poem sees Propertius reverting to the model of Homer, by describ-
ing the effect of Helen's beauty rather than a putting together a list of physical
characteristics.

We can now revisit the argument of the poem with a better sense of what
Propertius is trying to do. The introductory preface of four couplets sets up the
dramatic situation of the elegy, and then comes the detailed catalog of Cynthia's
physical attractions, even as the poet rejects them (9–16):[92]

> nec me tam facies, quamuis sit candida, cepit
>   (lilia non domina sunt magis alba mea;
> ut Maeotica nix minio si certet Hibero,
>   utque rosae puro lacte natant folia),
> nec de more comae per leuia colla fluentes,
>   non oculi, geminae, sidera nostra, faces,
> nec si quando Arabo lucet bombyce papilla
>   (non sum de nihilo blandus amator ego) …

> It is not so much her face that has captured me, though it is beautiful (lilies
> are not whiter than my mistress: as if Scythian snow were to vie with Spanish
> cinnabar and rose petals float in pure milk). Nor is it her hair falling fashion-
> ably over her smooth neck, nor her eyes, those twin torches, my lodestars,
> nor if her breast occasionally gleams beneath Arabian silk (not for nothing
> am I a sweet-talking lover) …

This list of Cynthia's visual attractions includes the fairness of her face (9–10), her
hair (13), her eyes (14), and her figure (15). This is precisely what Homer does *not*
do with Helen. In the light of Zeuxis' comment on the difference between the way
poetry and painting achieve their effects, the problem with these lines is that Cyn-
thia is dismembered until she is nothing but a pile of limbs sporting poetic cliches.

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[91] For a parallel hypothesis of a Latin poet alluding to a painting, see Goldberg 2005, 131–4 on
Lucretius' Iphigenia.

[92] See Heyworth 2007, 120–1 on the conjecture *papilla* for the vapid *puella* in 15.

This is precisely what Lessing objected to in poets who betray the strengths of their medium by trying in vain to ape painterly representations of physical beauty. He takes Ariosto to account for his catalog of the physical attractions of Alcina:[93]

> … was für ein Bild geben diese allgemeine Formeln? In dem Munde eines Zeichenmeisters, der seine Schüler auf die Schönheiten des akademischen Modells aufmerksam machen will, möchten sie noch etwas sagen; denn ein Blick auf dieses Modell, und sie sehen die gehörigen Schranken der fröhlichen Stirne, sie sehen den schönsten Schnitt der Nase, die schmale Breite der niedlichen Hand. Aber bei dem Dichter sehe ich nichts, und empfinde mit Verdruß die Vergeblichkeit meiner besten Anstrengung, etwas sehen zu wollen.

> … what kind of picture do these vague formulae suggest? In the mouth of a drawing master who wanted to call the attention of his pupils to the beauties of the academic model they might possibly mean something: one look at this model and they see the fitting bounds of the gay brow, they see the finely chiseled nose, the slenderness of her dainty hand. But in the poem I see nothing and I am annoyed by the futility of my best efforts to see something.

Lessing warns lesser poets not to try where Ariosto had to fail. What Propertius is rejecting at the start of his poem is not Cynthia's beauty per se, but rather a particular strategy for attempting to convey the shattering force of that beauty – a strategy that he knows must fail.

It is not so much these physical allurements (*nec … tam*, 9) that keep Propertius in bondage; even more captivating (*quantum*, 17) are Cynthia's dancing and the poetry she composes (17–22):[94]

> quantum quod posito formose saltat Iaccho
>   egit ut euhantes dux Ariadna choros,
> et quantum Aeolio cum temptat carmina plectro
>   par Aganippaeae ludere docta lyrae,
> et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corinnae
>   carminaque Erinnae non putat aequa suis.

> … as much as it is that she dances beautifully when the wine is served, like Ariadne leading the Bacchic troupe, and that she composes songs with the plectrum of Sappho, expert at playing songs equal to the Muses' lyre; and she compares her writings to those of ancient Corinna, and does not think the songs of Erinna the equal of her own.

This is a very different list; it attempts to represent not static, visual attributes that could best be represented by painting, but things that the visual arts cannot evoke so easily. Movement and dance pose difficulties for both media, but at least both the writer and the painter are on equally awkward ground. The voice, however,

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[93] *Laocoon*, Chapter 20: McCormick 1962, 108.

[94] For the emendation which supplies Erinna in the corrupt line 22, see Heyworth 2007, 122.

is the raw material of written representation just as visual appearance is the raw material of the pictorial. Propertius ought to be able to represent Cynthia's words, at least. This sequence – appearance, movement, voice – thus plays out a series of potential representational strategies. The first option illustrates an attempt to compete with painting on its own terms, and it fails, for the attempt to describe Cynthia's face, hair, eyes and figure does not really allow us to visualize her at all. So then Propertius moves on to other aspects apparently more suited to verse. First he tries to describe her dancing, but this turns out to be just as hard to convey in words as in a painting. Finally, he turns to her poetry. In this case, Propertius might seem to have the option of showing Cynthia "as she really was", by actually quoting her own words. Except that this is verse, not prose. But Cynthia is a poet, so he can quote her poetry, surely. Propertius suggests that she mainly composes in meters other than elegiac, however, which conveniently rules out quotation.[95]

All efforts, therefore, to represent Cynthia's accomplishments in various media fail. So the next phase of the poem brings a different approach. The subsequent five couplets stress her quasi-divine status, beginning with the idea that Love sneezed at her birth (23–4), which derives from Theocritus' portrait of Helen in *Idyll* 18.[96] In that poem, Menelaus' good luck in acquiring his bride is attributed to a lucky sneeze (18.16–17). The main technique Theocritus uses in that poem to limn Helen's beauty is to remind us of her birth from Zeus, and to compare her to the chorus of Spartan girls, just as Propertius compares Cynthia to the Roman: *gloria Romanis una es tu nata puellis* (29). Helen is singled out from her companions not only for her beauty but also for her skill with the lyre, which also anticipates Cynthia. The old men of Troy compare Helen to a goddess (*Il.* 3.158); but Propertius compares Cynthia to Helen: *post Helenam haec terris forma secunda redit* (32). Finally, he gives up on his failed representational strategies and simply describes the effects of Cynthia's beauty on the youth of Rome, just as Homer had described Helen's effect on the old men of Troy: *hac ego nunc mirer si flagrat nostra iuuentus?* (33).

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[95] Cynthia is said to compose *Aeolio ... carmina plectro* (19), which strongly suggests lyric, and she compares her work to Corinna's, which was also lyric. She also, if the emended text is correct, compares her work to that of Erinna, who was mainly known for her hexameter *Distaff*, though admittedly some epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* are attributed to her. It is interesting to note that the two "real" poetesses to whom Cynthia is compared in this poem have, like her, occasionally been appraised as literary fictions created by men. For Erinna, see M. L. West 1977, who adduces Athenaeus (7.283d) as an ancient skeptic. For Corinna, the difficulty is in reconciling the biographical tradition that makes her a rival of Pindar, and so puts her in the fifth century, with her language, which seems to be later. Propertius' phrase "antiquae ... Corinnae" (21) is often cited as evidence that the fifth-century date was current among Roman readers (Allen and Frel 1972, 28 and M. L. West 1970, 279, n. 3), but Propertius might just as well have been using the epithet in an ironic fashion to indicate that he knew precisely what was fictional about Corinna.

[96] Schmidt 1972 tries unconvincingly to relate these lines instead to the fourth eclogue of Virgil.

The final, successful Homeric strategy of depicting the effects of beauty rather than vainly trying to describe its constituent parts results from applying Zeuxis' insight that poetry and painting operate in radically different ways. Propertius makes a paradox of this in the final lines of his poem, quoted above, where he suggests that modern painters should paint his Cynthia, just as Zeuxis painted Homer's Helen. In fact, East and West will be ablaze for her, just as Europe and Asia were over Helen. Except, of course, that the Trojan War was not ignited by Homer's poem or Zeuxis' picture, but by a "real" woman. But who is the "real" Cynthia? In this context, it is impossible to ignore the most famous anecdote surrounding Zeuxis' portrait of Helen. Recall that Zeuxis requested five of the most beautiful and well-born maidens of the city to pose nude as models and made his Helen a composite portrait, for he did not think he could find perfection in any one model. The composite portrait combined the best of all the girls into a seamless whole. Now, Propertius holds his Cynthia up as a model for painters which will be superior to the model used by Zeuxis for his Helen. Which model was that? If Zeuxis did not use a single model but created a composite portrait of the ideal woman, then should we not conclude that Propertius did the same with his Cynthia? Many readers have seen that the inconsistency of Propertius' portrait of Cynthia means that she could not have been modeled on any one single woman, and here we can catch Propertius himself winking at the fictiveness of his own creation.[97] And indeed the readers of Propertius collude in that fictiveness, for the beauty of Cynthia that has inflamed the youth of Rome is in their heads, whatever image they have summoned for her.

A further aspect of the closing couplet is worth examining.[98] It has obvious affinities with two Ovidian passages complimenting Cornelius Gallus, and the similarity has been plausibly attributed to a common ancestor in Gallus' own poetry. The first Ovidian passage is from the *Amores* (1.15.29–30):[99]

> Gallus et Hesperiis et Gallus notus Eois,
>   et sua cum Gallo nota Lycoris erit.

> Gallus will be known in the West and Gallus will be known in the East, and
> his Lycoris will be known with Gallus.

The fame of Gallus' fictional Lycoris was different to that of Propertius' Cynthia, however. Gallus followed Catullus in supplying a metrically equivalent name as a fig-leaf for a real woman who was famous, indeed notorious, in her own right. Readers will have been expected to see through the disguise; in a sense, Gallus'

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[97] See Wyke 1987.

[98] As transmitted, the poem carries on for another ten lines, but many editors rightly think that line 45 and following belongs to the beginning of the next poem. On the unreliability of the transmitted poem divisions (which is a somewhat separate question from the general reliability of the transmitted text), see Heyworth 1995.

[99] For a different interpretation of this connection, see Cairns 2006, 97–9.

elegies were parasitic on the fame his girlfriend Cytheris had already gained for herself as an actress and as Antony's mistress. Propertius' adoption here of a Gallan motif (if that is what it was) highlights how much more justly he can claim to have made his mistress famous, since she is wholly his own creation. Indeed, Lycoris provides a crucial contrast to Cynthia in this elegy, for Propertius claimed that Cynthia was particularly attractive for her dancing and musicianship, qualities that suggest a mime actress like Cytheris. Gallus had a much easier job of it, for he was describing a woman already well known to his audience from her career on the stage. By contrast, when Propertius describes the effects of Cynthia on the populace of Rome, it is due to the poet's talents alone, since she was not a simple pseudonym for a well-known public personality.

At this point we can appreciate the ultimate point of introducing Zeuxis' *Helen*. Propertius plays throughout this poem with its staging of the contrast between the representational powers of painting and poetry, but ultimately he is more interested in positioning himself with respect to his predecessor in elegy. Like Lessing, he understood Zeuxis' point but was less interested in continuing the dialogue with visual media than he was in turning it to the purpose of literary polemic. Lessing used Zeuxis' painting to abuse modern poets for being overly descriptive, contrary to the strength of verbal media. There is an aspect of that sort of polemic in Propertius 2.3, too, since, as Lyne brilliantly showed, its deliberately inept effort to describe Cynthia's beauty was a parody of Tibullus' description of Delia's appearance in his elegy 1.5.[100] In addition to teasing Tibullus for attempting to represent the beauty of his girlfriend instead of describing its effect, Propertius took advantage of another anecdote surrounding Zeuxis' painting to make a deeper point about the nature of his portrait of Cynthia.

The thing Zeuxis' painting was most famous for, both in antiquity and subsequently, was not the hubris of its Homeric inscription but the anecdote about the women who modeled for it. As told by a number of ancient sources, the story went that Zeuxis asked the people of Croton, who had commissioned the painting, to provide a maiden of the town as model. They tried to put him off by showing him the beauty of their young men naked in the palaestra, suggesting that he extrapolate from them the beauty of their sisters. The painter insisted upon seeing the maidens of Croton and selected the five most beautiful, whom he used as a composite model for Helen, since no one individual was perfect. This anecdote was repeatedly used in antiquity to illustrate the nature of creativity and the relationship of art to nature, and the scene of Zeuxis choosing his models has been very popular with modern painters.[101] For our purposes, however, what is most

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[100] Lyne 1998, 538–44. As we will see, Lyne was overly pessimistic in concluding that we cannot fully understand the point of this poem without Gallus' text; that is because the point here is explained not so much by that text but by the meaning of Zeuxis' painting.

[101] See, for example, the beginning of the second book of Cicero's *De Inventione*; for the full range of ancient sources, see the thorough survey of de Angelis 2005. On the reception in modern

interesting is the nudity of the maidens. This is what made the story so tititillating, and why the people of Croton were at first unwilling to comply.[102] Freeborn Greek maidens did not pose nude for painters, much less do so en masse. That was a job for prostitutes, and there were many examples of notorious courtesans posing as the models for images of nude goddesses. For example, the famous courtesan Phryne was said to have been the model for both the painting of Aphrodite Anadyomene by Apelles and the sculpture of Aphrodite of Cnidus by Praxiteles.[103]

So a distinctive feature of Zeuxis' nude painting of Helen was that it was modeled upon a range of free women, rather than a single courtesan. This will explain the sudden and rather bewildering shift at the end of Propertius' poem. After the couplet about ancient paintings and their models, which provides the most explicit pointer to Zeuxis' painting as the key to explaining the poem, the subsequent couplet alluding to Gallus seems an odd afterthought. But it is closely related. For Gallus took as the model for his fictional Lycoris a single courtesan, the notorious mime actress Volumnia Cytheris. She was the Roman equivalent of the Phryne who had posed for Apelles. Zeuxis, by contrast made a composite portrait of five different women. The implications for Cynthia are clear: she is also a composite portrait. Just as the artistry of Zeuxis surpassed that of Apelles in creating a more perfect woman than was available, so Propertius' creativity surpasses that of Gallus because his creation is more than a fictionalization of a single woman.

M. Wyke has shown that, throughout Book 2 of his elegies, Propertius highlights the constructed, fictional nature of Cynthia, and now we can see that this theme is developed right from the third poem of that book.[104] The other Ovidian passage which seems to allude to the same Gallan couplet as Propertius is from the *Ars Amatoria* (3.535–8):

> Nos facimus placitae late praeconia formae:
>   Nomen habet Nemesis, Cynthia nomen habet:
> Vesper et Eoae nouere Lycorida terrae:
>   Et multi, quae sit nostra Corinna, rogant.

> We (poets) herald far and wide the beauty of our beloveds: Nemesis and Cynthia have their renown. The lands at the setting and the rising of the sun know Lycoris, and many people ask who is my Corinna.

Ovid must be alluding not only to the Gallan original but to Propertius' imitation, and it seems unlikely to be a coincidence that Propertius' poem happens to mention the original Corinna, an ostensibly fifth-century Greek poetess whose work is

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painting, see Mansfield 2007.

[102] The nudity of the portrait and thus of the well-born maidens who served as models, which Cicero suppresses in his moralizing version of the anecdote, is attested by Dionysius Halicarnassus (*De Imitatione*, 31.1).

[103] See Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 13.59.

[104] Wyke 1987.

often thought to be a later forgery.[105] Ovid apparently took the idea from Propertius 2.3 of adopting for his extravagantly fictional girlfriend the name of a poetess whose corpus was fake, or at the very least he justified his choice by reference to it. J. McKeown hit upon the exact truth without realizing it when he scorned the "prevailing modern opinion that Corinna, the mistress whom Ovid celebrates in the *Amores*, either did not exist or is, at best, a *Konzentrationsfigur*, compounded of several different women, a literary equivalent to Zeuxis' Helen".[106] The construction of Corinna, like Cynthia before her, is very precisely modeled upon the genesis of Zeuxis' *Helen*.

Propertius' second book ends with a list of Latin love poets and their mistresses: Varro and Leucadia, Catullus and Lesbia, Calvus and Quintilia, Gallus and Lycoris, and finally Propertius and Cynthia (2.34.85–94). Where we know anything about those women, they were modeled upon real individuals.[107] Propertius puts himself and Cynthia at the end of that list, and in a sense they transcend it, for, in contrast to those artists, Propertius took the more difficult route of Zeuxis and created a more complex, composite portrait.[108] This helps to explain how Cynthia can seem at times a proud Roman matron, like the woman behind Catullus' Lesbia, and at others a prostitute, like the woman behind Gallus' Lycoris. In this light, she emerges as a more impressive creation then Gallus' Lycoris, not only because of the multiplicity of models, but also because the single model for Lycoris, Volumnia Cytheris, was already famous in her own right. One could reproach Gallus by saying that he simply had to represent her as the fascinating woman she evidently was (this is not to say that the reproach would be fair, for Gallus was surely doing more than merely depicting biographical reality). Cynthia, by contrast, is a wholly literary creation from start to finish, the product of pure imagination.

So Propertius cheekily took the Portico of Philippus as the inspiration for a poem, but not the kind that Augustus had in mind. He turns the Trojan War into a tussle between rival lovers over a beautiful woman, and puts the focus rather on Zeuxis' *Helen*, which, with its multiplicity of models, becomes a paradigm for his own Cynthia. This is typical of his engagement with the Augustan ideological program of renewal, at least before his fourth book: he subordinates it all to his own world. Before leaving his second book, however, we should take a quick look at the one poem in which he does discuss an aspect of Augustus' building program at

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[105] As noted above, on this reading Propertius calls her "ancient" (*antiquae*, 21) out of irony, not gullibility. See M. L. West 1970 and M. L. West 1990, who does not admit the possibility that Propertius was joking.

[106] McKeown 1987–1998, vol. 1, 19.

[107] Leucadia is a mystery; Lesbia was based upon Clodia Metelli; Quintilia is also unknown, but that name does not sound as if it is a pseudonym at all.

[108] The information reported by Apuleius that the model for Cynthia was a certain Hostia simply shows how strong was the impulse among ancient readers, after Catullus, to interpret the elegiac *puella* as a cypher for a real woman. It is entirely possible that there was a Hostia in Propertius' life; but, if so, she must have been only one of several women he drew upon.

some length. In poem 2.31, he describes, without any apparent cheek or sarcasm, the new Temple of Palatine Apollo. Here he is happy to praise the building program of Augustus, but in a way which is completely separate from his own poetic concerns. The only reason he provides this description is to offer an excuse to his girlfriend. He explains to her that he is late for their rendezvous, because he was gazing in amazement at the newly opened portico of Palatine Apollo. If, as so often, Cynthia stands here as a symbol for the poet's own love elegy, then this poem is explicitly a digression, a diversion from Propertius' usual habits, pleasures and mode of writing. He seems to be saying that the Temple of Palatine Apollo, with its intimate connection to Augustus, may be beautiful, but it will have no effect on his poetry. This poem functions as a companion piece to 2.3. In that earlier elegy, Propertius made a poem that was inspired by the Portico of Philippus, but he bent it to his own concerns by focussing on Zeuxis' *Helen* and its articulation of the relationship between visual and textual media. In poem 2.31, Propertius gives Augustus what he wants by rendering his own temple back to him. If you ask Propertius to create a poetic monument for Augustus, this is what you get. It is a riposte to the ecphrasis at the start of *Georgics* 3, whereby Propertius points out that Augustus does not need Virgil's marble temple, as he already has a very nice one of his own. By describing it, Propertius avoids creating one himself; it is a very subtle *recusatio*. Propertius picks his battles with Augustan ideology carefully. He is happy to celebrate Palatine Apollo as Augustus' creation, but he will not model his own work on it or any other public monument. He has his own ideas about how the Muses ought to be worshipped at Rome, and this does not include the writing of a neo-Ennian national epic. We find this same attitude at the start of Book 3, where Propertius vigorously challenges Horace's reinterpretation of the role of the priest of the Muses at Rome.

The un-Roman Elegies of Propertius

We have seen that Virgil's reaction to Augustus' solicitation of a poet to play Ennius to his Fulvius was to accept the invitation, or at least to give the appearance of doing so. Horace turned it down, but positioned his Roman Odes as an alternative offering, a different sort of Augustan monument, giving voice to some aspects of the new ideology, but maintaining his independence. Now we turn to a poet who rejected much more bluntly that invitation, at least before his final book. Propertius' most sustained engagement with the Virgilian/Horatian metaphor of poetry as a monument comes at the start of his third book, which can be understood as a comprehensive rejection of any such official position. The Propertius who emerges from this discussion might seem to be anti-Augustan, but that would be an oversimplification. Throughout his career, Propertius defined himself as loyal to his own kind of elegy in contrast to the generic experimentation of Virgil and Horace. We can infer that he did not think Augustus had any business dictating the

content and form of his poetry. He strongly rejects the poetic program of Augustus, but that need not imply a rejection of his political program. Our clearest view of the political allegiances of Propertius comes from his first book, in which he advertises with equal prominence his attachment to the family of L. Volcacius Tullus, a very important ally of Octavian, and also to his victims at Perusia.[109] Propertius must have been far from unique his day in having close connections with people on both sides of the civil wars. In the discussion below, a very recalcitrant Propertius emerges, but that is not so much a political position as a function of the fact that we are dealing with his most explicit and sustained refusal to write a patriotic Roman epic.

We saw in the previous chapter that Horace staged an imaginary poetic competition between himself and an elegiac poet, almost certainly Propertius, which took place in an unnamed temple combining aspects of the Temple of Hercules Musarum and the Palatine library. Despite their mutual connection with Maecenas, and despite the fact that Horace probably addresses one of the *Odes* to a kinsman of Propertius, they never mention each other explicitly. It is my view that we can reconstruct a rivalry and hostility between the two men which dates from a very early stage in their work, and that they criticize each other under the veil of pseudonyms.[110] Horace alludes to the Temple of Hercules Musarum in describing the temple in which their duel took place; we saw in the preceding chapter that it was indeed the sort of area where such an event might have occurred. But there may be an even more significant reason for that choice of setting. If Horace's self-description as a priest of the Muses in the Roman Odes implies a position within an imaginary temple of the Muses in parallel with the Portico of Philippus, then Propertius follows suit in the first five elegies of his third book. These five poems, which are united in theme and in programmatic intent, have rightly been interpreted as a response to the Roman Odes.[111] They also engage in detail with other important passages we have discussed so far, such as Virgil's Mantuan temple and Horace's *monumentum*, and also with Ennius' *Annales*. In particular, the first elegy responds to Horace's self-definition as a Roman priest; the second responds to Horace's and Virgil's conceptualization of their poetry as an Augustan monument; and the third responds to Horace's confrontation with the epic muse. So clearly this series of elegies can also be read as a response to the Portico of Philippus and to the demands it made of Rome's poets. This is not to say that the un-Roman elegies of Propertius constitute a third imaginary temple, after Virgil and Horace: quite the opposite. It is rather the case that Propertius attempts to dismantle that particular metaphor for poetic immortality. The Muses, for him, are not subject to forcible appropriation, and dwell not in a metropolitan Roman

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[109] Many scholars emphasize one side at the expense of the other; on the political context of Propertius' first book, see Heslin 2010.

[110] See Heslin 2011.

[111] See Nethercut 1970.

temple but in the wilds of Greece. The un-Roman elegies of Propertius situate the Muses in a place which is the antithesis of the place where Horace and Virgil and Augustus and Ennius and Fulvius had put them.

Propertius begins by calling himself a *sacerdos*, in imitation of Horace:

> Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae,
>   in uestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus.
> primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos
>   Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros.
>
> Spirit of Callimachus and sacred rites of Coan Philitas, permit me to come,
>   I pray, into your grove. I enter as the first priest from a pure spring to bear
>   Italian rites among Greek singers.

The word "priest" (*sacerdos*) stands at the end of the third line of the first poem, just as in Horace's Roman Odes (3.1.3), and here too it is important to understand how different this is from the routine metaphor by which the poet identifies himself as *vates*. As it was for Horace, the metaphorical claim to be a *sacerdos* implies an imaginary cult and place of worship. The nature of this cult is, however, very different from the one conjured up by Horace. By claiming to be a priest of a set of goddesses who were acknowledged within Roman religion, even if they did not have their own site of worship, Horace imagined himself as a priest of an imaginary but conceivable Roman cult, which might have had a temple at Rome, but which, for historical reasons that we have already examined, it did not. Propertius, by contrast, does not say outright whose priest he is, but rather implies the answer. Contrary to the claims of many commentators, he is careful not to call himself a priest either of the Muses or of Apollo, though those divinities are an important presence in the poem.[112] In his persona as priest, he addresses a prayer to the shades of the learned Hellenistic poets, Callimachus and Philitas, thereby suggesting that he is a priest of their hero-cult.[113] Hero-cult was a feature of Greek, but not Roman, religion, especially when devoted to poets. Such cults, in which poets received honors more like those offered to gods than to deceased mortals, were a distinctive feature of the Greek world. Homer was the most frequent recipient, while the cult of Archilochus at Paros is the best attested.[114] Propertius' place of worship is a Greek grove (*nemus*) with, presumably, a burial mound; it is very much not a Roman temple. The anti-Roman character of this imaginary cult is the fundamental difference with respect to the sacerdotal metaphor of Horace's Roman Odes.

Whereas Horace presents himself as a Roman priest, and thus an imaginary official of the Roman state, Propertius in his third book is a priest of an imaginary Greek cult. This profoundly changes the nature of the relationship between Greek

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[112] E.g. Fedeli 2005, 49 and Heyworth and Morwood 2011, 98.

[113] See Luck 1957.

[114] See Clay 2004.

and Roman culture here. Propertius' claim to be the first Italian to do something with respect to Greek poetry of course links him back to Virgil's Ennian/Fulvian kidnapping of the Muses, as well as to Horace's *exegi monumentum* ode, but again there is a crucial difference. Propertius is bringing an offering *to* Greece, rather than taking something away *from* it by force. He is carrying sacred objects from Italy to become part of a Greek sacred ritual. It is a pointed inversion of the Roman imperial vision that links Ennius' and Virgil's (and, to a lesser extent, Horace's) conception of Latin literature as conquest. Propertius' pose as a suppliant and hi-erophant, bearing gifts from Italy, casts Ennius and Virgil and even Horace as grasping, venal, uncomprehending *conquistadores*. It is not the Muses whose loca-tion and cult-place needs to be adjusted, it is the attitude of Roman poets. When Propertius claims to be the first priest to come from a pure spring, he is not only participating in the trope of claiming primacy while imitating a predecessor, he is also implying that his predecessors were deficient in not bearing the pure water Apollo approves of at the end of Callimachus' hymn to that god.[115] This may be an implicit criticism of the way his predecessor as a poetic *sacerdos*, Horace, evokes the beginning of that same Callimachean hymn at the start of his Roman Odes.[116] As we will see, Propertius has no time for the notion that bombast like the Roman Odes or the *Aeneid* can have anything in common with Callimachus. You cannot erect your metaphorical temple on the breadth of the Circus Flaminius and claim to be following the narrow path.

Propertius continues his prayer, asking the shades of the two poets a series of questions (5–6):

> dicite, quo pariter carmen tenuastis in antro?
>   quoue pede ingressi? quamue bibistis aquam?
>
> Tell me, in what cave did you both similarly refine your song? And with what foot did you enter? And what water did you drink?

Just as Propertius' grove (*nemus*) stands in contrast to the imaginary temple of the Muses implied as the context for Horace's ode, so too the cave (*antro*) here functions by way of contrast to that temple. There is a quite straightforward answer to the first question. Philitas and Callimachus both worked as scholars and poets not in a grotto or a cave, but in the rather more comfortable ambience of the Alexandrian Museum and Library. In fact, we know so little about the early history of the institution that we cannot be entirely sure about Philitas. But he was tutor to the son of the first Ptolemy, and subsequently the post of royal tutor was filled by the head of the Library, so it seems likely that Philitas had at least some connection with that institution.[117] Callimachus of course was intimately associated with it,

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[115] J. F. Miller 2009, 314–7.

[116] Cf. *Carm.*3.1.1–2: "odi profanum uolgus et arceo. fauete linguis" with Call. *Hymn Apoll.* 2 and 17: ἑκὰς ἑκὰς ὅστις ἀλιτρός and εὐφημεῖτ᾽ ἀίοντες.

[117] Bulloch 1989, 4.

having famously cataloged the holdings of the library. So when Propertius asks in what cave the two men wrote their poetry, the answer is obvious: no cave but the well-appointed surroundings of the Museum in Alexandria. In this way, Propertius points to the absence of such an institution in Rome. The only Museum in Rome is Horace's imaginary one; the Portico of Philippus is no well-endowed institution to support scholarship and literature. The absence of a Roman institution that would genuinely fill the role of the Museum and Library of Alexandria hangs over this poem like a silent reproach and functions as an unspoken justification for Propertius' refusal to entertain Augustus' wishes.

The other two questions asked of the shades of Callimachus and Philitas form a double allusion to the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, combining references to the foot and to drinking water. When Propertius asks with what foot they entered the Museum/grotto, the punning implied answer is that they both wrote chiefly in the elegiac meter.[118] When he asks what water they drank, the reference to Callimachus' hymn ensures that the answer is purest water from a sacred spring, and not from a muddy river. This looks forward to the end of poem 3.3, when Calliope touches Propertius' lips with water from the spring of Aganippe, from which Philitas had once drunk. There is also a telling absence. Amid the same complex of *topoi* in which Virgil introduced the Mincius and Horace the Aufidus, Propertius omits to name the river of his home town. It is not that Propertius is any less proud of his homeland than Virgil and Horace; it is just that the rivers near Assisi and Perugia are the Tiber and its tributaries, which would work very badly from Propertius' programmatic point of view, since the silty, yellow Tiber also flowed past the Portico of Philippus. So instead he stresses the Callimachean antithesis of river and spring. Propertius comes *puro de fonte*, just as Callimachus and Philitas themselves had done. This implicitly contrasts with the rivers of the other two Roman poets, especially the slow, winding curves of the Mincius, which Virgil had used to create a parallel with the Tiber. For Propertius, the muddy Mincius symbolizes Virgil's turning away from the Alexandrian principles upon which he had founded his career.

In the next passage, Propertius revisits the triumphal imagery of Virgil, but with a large twist (7–14):

> ah ualeat, Phoebum quicumque moratur in armis!
>   exactus tenui pumice uersus eat,—
> quo me Fama leuat terra sublimis, et a me
>   nata coronatis Musa triumphat equis,
> et mecum in curru parui uectantur Amores,
>   scriptorumque meas turba secuta rotas.
> quid frustra missis in me certatis habenis?
>   non datur ad Musas currere lata uia.
>
> Ah, farewell, whoever delays Apollo in warfare! Let my verse run polished

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[118] Heyworth and Morwood 2011, 99–100.

by fine pumice, by which lofty Fame lifts me from the earth, and the Muse
born from me rides in triumph behind garlanded horses. And with me in
the chariot are carried little Cupids, and a crowd of writers follows after my
wheels. Why do you shake out your reins, vainly trying to overtake me? You
can't take the highway to the Muses.

Instead of captive statues, war-chariots and boxing matches, Propertius' triumphal
procession will be made up of cupids and poets. Another crucial inversion of Virgil's triumph is that Propertius' Muse, instead of being a captive foreigner, stands
in the place of the victorious general leading the triumph! Again, the paradigm
of Roman imperialism is inverted, with a Greek female leading the parade; Propertius is merely one of the poets following in her train, though he is in the lead
and will not be overtaken.[119] One name we can assume to be among the crowd
of writers vainly trying to overtake Propertius' chariot is Virgil, who represented
his own poetic progress in very similar terms. This procession will not start, however, from the wide expanse of the Circus Flaminius, but will run along a narrow,
Callimachean path. The dismissal of poets of war in the context of an evocation of
Virgil's Mantuan temple is a rejection of the *Aeneid* as an acceptable option for a
poet who claims Callimachus as a model. No manubial temple, no military-style
triumph, no Greek statues as war-booty, no procession through the Circus. None
of these are for Propertius; leave them for Virgil, Livy and their ilk, alluded to in
the next line (3.1.15): "many, Rome, will add praise of you to the annals/*Annales*";
they are to continue the historical project of Ennius' epic.[120] The demand for a
new Ennius that Augustus embodied in his Museum will have many takers, but
Propertius will not be one of them.

   Propertius then asks the Muses to crown him not with the olive wreath of
Olympic victors, as for Virgil, or the laurel wreath of Pythian victors, as for Horace, but with a soft crown of flowers suitable for a delicate love poet (19–20).
The rest of the poem goes on to argue that time will increase Propertius' fame,
making use of examples from the Trojan War. Just as Horace does in his epic *recusatio*, Propertius handles the Homeric material with a skill that makes it clear that
incompetence is not the reason for avoiding epic material. Though it is not said
until the next poem, the fame the poet achieves stands in contrast to fame achieved
through monuments, which howsoever grand do decay with time. The other implicit point is that one should write for posterity rather than for the approval of
those who happen to be in power. After Augustus is dead, will people still want to
read panegyrics addressed to him? Of course it is Virgil's remarkable achievement
that he managed to satisfy both Augustus and posterity, but Propertius will not
have known that, not yet. What he does know is the failure of Ennius to fulfill the

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[119] See Galinsky 1969b, 88-9.

[120] "multi, Roma, tuas laudes annalibus addent"; for further allusions here to Lucretius' praise
of Ennius, see Nethercut 1970, 391 and J. F. Miller 1983, 284. See also Woodman 1998 for the
allusion to Livy's annalistic history.

bold promise of his claim to be the Roman Homer. The odds were against Virgil succeeding where others had failed. The poem ends with Propertius' tombstone, which will not be treated with scorn, despite its small size. We thus come back to the image at the beginning of the poem, where the poet was participating in the cult of Callimachus and Philitas. He gently hints at the end of the poem that future generations of Romans may offer hero-cult to him, just as he has offered it to the Hellenistic poets. It is a small monument that, in contrast to the grandiose, imperial pretensions of Virgil's Mantuan temple and Horace's *monumentum*, depends on the good wishes of future generations of readers to survive the centuries. In the next poem, Propertius more explicitly compares the inferior durability of physical monuments with the immortality conferred by poetry.

Just as Horace spoke metaphorically of the humility of his house at the end of the first Roman ode, Propertius does the same here (3.2.11–16):

> quod non Taenariis domus est mihi fulta columnis,
>   nec camera auratas inter eburna trabes,
> nec mea Phaeacas aequant pomaria siluas,
>   non operosa rigat Marcius antra liquor;
> at Musae comites et carmina cara legenti,
>   nec defessa choris Calliopea meis.

> My house is not propped up on columns of black marble, nor is my decor of ivory with gilded beams. Nor are my fruit trees the equal of the orchards of Phaeacia, nor does the water of Marcius irrigate overwrought grottoes for me. But the Muses are my friends and my songs are dear to their reader; nor is Calliope weary of my singing.

In the course of conjuring up his imaginary temple, Horace said that his own home was not built high or of costly workmanship. Propertius picks up that theme, repeating Horace's word *operosa*.[121] Just as Horace highlighted in *Odes* 3.1 the tension between Virgil's praise of the humble household of the farmer at the end of the second book of the *Georgics* and his promise of a glittering temple for Augustus at the start of the third, Propertius turns that same issue against Horace. Even Horace's more modest *monumentum* is too grand for Propertius' Callimachean principles. Propertius therefore collapses the distinction Horace draws between, on the one hand, the humility of his dwelling and, on the other, the somewhat grander scale of the imaginary temple of the Muses of which he is priest and the *monumentum* it constitutes. Propertius' house has no *antrum* whose fountains are supplied from the aqueduct of the Aqua Marcia, recently renovated by Agrippa. In the previous poem, the word *antrum* referred to the work-place of Callimachus and Philitas, in which we saw a reference to the Alexandrian Museum. We can detect a reference to the ersatz Roman Museum in the word *Marcius*. This is the family name of L. Marcius Philippus, the builder of the Portico of Philippus, whose leg-

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[121] *Carm.* 3.1.48: Nethercut 1970, 387.

endary ancestor, the king Ancus Marcius, was supposed to have originally built the aqueduct; a member of the family restored it in the second century BC. The family liked to advertise the connection: a coin picturing the aqueduct was minted by someone in the family, very probably the homonymous father of the builder of the Portico of Philippus.[122] On the analogy of the excavation of structures in the Temple of Peace which are represented similarly on the Marble Plan, we noted earlier the possibility that the crenellations in the podium around Fulvius' temple might have incorporated fountains. Thus the phrase "the water of Marcius irrigates no overwrought grottoes for me" ("non operosa rigat Marcius antra liquor") has two meanings. The superficial sense refers to a generic water-feature in any rich man's urban garden, but the name *Marcius* makes us think specifically of Philippus' new grotto for the Muses in the Portico of Philippus. Essentially, Propertius is saying that he does not have either a grandiose real home or a grandiose metaphorical poetic *monumentum*, but the Muses are nevertheless happy to attend him.

Propertius goes on to say that each of his poems will be a tiny *monumentum* to his girlfriend's beauty (17–18), which serves to trivialize Horace's use of that same metaphor. He then embarks on a detailed rebuttal of Horace's claim to immortality in *Odes* 3.30, pointing out that neither the pyramids, nor the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia, nor the tomb of Mausolus will endure forever. This has obvious parallels with Horace's *monumentum*, though Propertius brings Augustus into the picture a bit more explicitly with the reference to the original Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. This puts a finer point on the argument of the preceding poem that monuments, both real and metaphorical (i.e. panegyric written to order), are useless instruments for immortality when compared with poetic genius.

The next poem (3.3) continues the engagement with the complex of poetic responses spawned by the Portico of Philippus and its demand for a new Ennius. At the start of the *Annales*, Ennius described a dream in which Homer appeared to him and declared that he had been reincarnated as the Roman poet. Propertius, on the other hand, has a nightmare in which he almost becomes a reincarnation of Ennius. He dreamed that he had the power to write what sounds like a dreadfully tedious epic on early Roman history and the kings of Alba Longa. He then is about to put his lips to the spring of the Hippocrene, from which, Propertius says, Ennius had drunk. A bungled, highly disordered summary of Ennius' epic builds up the tension and is enough to make us fear the worst.[123] In the nick of time, Apollo stops the poet from drinking from the fount of epic and turns the nightmare into a more pleasant kind of dream. He orders the poet, reprising the role he plays in Callimachus' *Aitia* and in Virgil's *Eclogues*, to write less bombastic poetry. He also directs Propertius along a path to a different place, where he encounters the Muses.

It is crucial to understanding the topographical argument of this poem that the

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[122] Crawford 1974, no. 425 attributes the coin to the son, evidently in error: his suggested date corresponds with the consulship of the father in 56 BC.

[123] On the deliberate disorder, see Heyworth 1986, 200–2 and J. F. Miller 1983, 281–2.

Muses are dwelling separately from the place where Ennius had drunk. This runs contrary not only to the Augustan ideology of the Portico of Philippus, but also to Ennius' own self-presentation as intimately associated with the Muses stolen by Fulvius. The Muses are in a decorated cave (*spelunca*), which looks back to Propertius' use of *antrum* to suggest Museums in the previous two poems. There is another hint of the Portico of Philippus, in that each of the nine Muses is in a different place, each holding her iconographic attribute, just as if they were statues. Yet the isolation of the Muses' retreat and its separateness from the business of epic and war makes it clear that this place is conceived very differently from the Portico of Philippus. One message of the poem is that Propertius, as a matter of personal talent and inclination, will not write poetry about warfare. Another is that Fulvius' temple and hence the Portico of Philippus are misconceived from the point of view of religion. The Muses are peaceful goddesses and do not like to dwell in a place of war, such as the Circus Flaminius could be.

Two more programmatic poems round out the sequence of un-Roman elegies. These are less directly engaged with answering Virgil's and Horace's response to the Portico of Philippus. In elegy 3.4, Propertius describes Augustus' projected mission against Parthia and the subsequent triumphal procession. There are links with Virgil's projected epic, and this poem begins with the same word, *arma*.[124] The anticipated Parthian triumph is one of the events depicted on the doors of Virgil's Mantuan temple (*Georg.* 3.30–1). Propertius then prays to Venus that she may preserve Augustus as Aeneas' successor. The poem ends with Propertius situating himself as an observer, applauding the parade with the rest of the crowd (3.4.21–2):

> praeda sit haec illis, quorum meruere labores:
>   me sat erit Sacra plaudere posse Via.
>
> Let this booty belong to those whose labors have merited it; it will be enough
> for me to be able to applaud them along the Sacred Way.

Given the overall context, it is hard not to see this as a response to the *Aeneid*, metaphorically envisioned in the *Georgics* as a triumphal procession. Propertius stands aloof and watches Virgil enjoy the booty he has received from Augustus as much as he watches Augustus enjoy the booty he has taken from the Parthians. The distinction is not only between active soldiers and unwarlike poets; it is between poets who serve the state and those who, from the point of view of their poetic activity, are merely bystanders.

The final programmtic poem of this sequence complements its predecessor. In elegy 3.4, Propertius leaves war to others, while in 3.5, he venerates peace. He has no need for costly luxuries, such as bronze statues taken as booty from Corinth: "nor do I procure bronze melted by your destruction, Corinth".[125] The destruc-

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[124] See also *cano* (9) with Nethercut 1970, 394 and Cairns 2003.

[125] "nec mixta aera paro clade, Corinthe, tua" (3.5.6).

tion of the ancient city of Corinth was a particularly barbaric example of Roman conquest, and the plundering of its art was notorious.[126] Propertius alludes to the fire that destroyed many priceless works of art, which thus did not make it to Rome. In the overall context, we might see a parallel with the drive for Greek plunder that brought Fulvius' statues to Rome. Because Propertius does not have such avarice, his mind is free from the turmoil which afflicts the greedy. He does not set sail on the sea or go looking for military adventures (11–12). In the light of the turn the poem soon takes towards considering specifically poetic careers, this couplet may allude to the writing of martial epic. Propertius rejoices that he joined hands with the Muses on Helicon and sang of love while young. He then looks to the future, when his grey hair will make those romantic themes inappropriate. He predicts that he will then turn at last to didactic, philosophical poetry, and there follows a long list of topics which recall Lucretius, Aratus and Virgil's *Georgics*. We are not to believe this; Propertius elsewhere has scant interest in such philosophical themes. The point is that this is where his ideal career will end. Once again, Virgil is the unspoken point of comparison, and his career is already paradigmatic, even before his death. He began with love-poetry (which is how Propertius reads the *Eclogues*; cf. 2.34.67–77), and then moved on to didactic epic. So far, this is how Propertius envisions his own career. The difference is that Virgil has recently announced that he will go one step further still. Propertius had in an earlier book proclaimed that at the end of his life he would turn to war: "Let my first age sing of romance, my last of violence; I will sing of war, since my girl has been written".[127] Now, however, it seems that he has changed his mind, and will end his days writing philosophical poetry instead. He has to revise his earlier promise of war-poetry, however insincere it may have been, in the light of the alarming twist that Virgil's career has taken. The fundamental message of this poem is that Propertius will in fact be dead before he could turn, like Virgil, to writing a heroic epic. The final couplet makes that clear (3.5.47–8):

> exitus hic uitae superest mihi: uos, quibus arma
> grata magis, Crassi signa referte domum.

> This is the end of life which remains to me: those of you, to whom warfare
> is more pleasant, bring back home the standards of Crassus.

This valedictory gesture must be directed at Virgil and any who would follow him down the path he has recently chosen. It seems at first a respectful enough gesture to those with different taste, but as Heyworth and Morwood have pointed out, that last line could be punctuated to read, "bring the standards home, you idiots

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[126] See above (Chapter 4) on the Mummius inscription in the Sanctuary of Apollo in Pompeii which indicates that some of the booty may have ended up there.

[127] 2.10.7–8: "aetas prima canat Veneres, extrema tumultus | bella canam, quando scripta puella mea est."

who prefer warfare".[128]

Propertius repeatedly addresses Augustus' demand for an epic in his series of un-Roman elegies, criticizing the responses of Virgil and Horace while maintaining his fidelity to his own vision. His critique takes several approaches. First of all, he does not accept Horace as a priest of the Muses. For him that is a position which can never be a part of Roman state religion. The poet must listen to his own genius and not the dictates of the state. He particularly rejects Horace's invocation of the model of Callimachus at the moment at which he declares himself official priest of the Muses. The Ennian poem demanded by Augustus and the aesthetics of Philitas and Callimachus are antithetical, and Horace's effort to reconcile them is fraudulent. The cult of Philitas and Callimachus of which Propertius is a priest is Greek, and can form no part of Roman state religion. Propertius has a lively awareness of the irony that Callimachus and Philitas enjoyed genuine and generous royal patronage in their day. Not only have Horace and Virgil prostituted their talents; they have failed to obtain a good price for them. The Portico of Philippus merely demonstrates the absence at Rome of a proper cultural institution like the Museum of Alexandria. Virgil is the next target: he has betrayed his own origins by turning toward the *Aeneid*. The image of the poet as *trimphator* is equally fraudulent. True poetry is the antithesis of Fulvius' theft of the Muses by force.

Propertius refuses to set up an alternative monument, because he views the entire architectural metaphor as flawed, as he makes clear in elegy 3.1. The poetic monuments of Virgil and Horace have been erected with the assistance of Augustus. The poets take for granted that their textual monuments will outlive the physical monuments of the men of power. Propertius doubts that this is true, for the very act of submitting to the ideological needs of the regime means alienating one's own talent. In the second half of elegy 3.1, we are reminded that Troy's fame depends on the genius of Homer, who was not dependent on the patronage of Agamemnon or Priam and was free to record the folly of both. If he had been a poet for hire, would his Agamemnon and Achilles have had all of the flaws that make them such compelling portraits of the blindness of power? The reputation of Homer has grown with time, and so will Propertius': neither of them stooped to flatter kings, but concerned themselves only with the timelessness of the poetry. Homer did not write for the patronage or political favor of those he wrote about, so Ennius represents not his reincarnation but his antithesis. With his tongue in his cheek, Propertius says "after death, the passage of time makes all things seem greater", but we know he does not feel that way about Ennius.[129]

The question Propertius asks is whether Virgil, Rome's leading poet, is about to become the new Homer or the new Ennius. Following in the steps of Ennius

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[128] Heyworth and Morwood 2011, 144; cf. the vocative *stulte* in line 14.

[129] "omnia post obitum fingit maiora vetustas," 3.1.23.

may be the route to the favor of Augustus, but it is equally the route to poetic oblivion. Virgil's praise of Augustus will seem to future generations as dull as Ennius' praise of Fulvius. The poetic monument of the *Annales* had decayed as much as Fulvius' temple had done, and while the temple may be renovated, not so the poem. The poetic monuments of Horace and Virgil will share the destiny of the Portico of Philippus and other physical monuments, for they were written not for posterity but for one man in the present day. For this reason, the tiny tombstone of Propertius has a better chance of withstanding the centuries; he wrote for his readers and for them alone. Of course, this is a polemical view, bound to a time when the *Aeneid* was still largely unwritten.

Propertius apparently accepted the friendship of Maecenas alongside Virgil and Horace. But his independence of spirit meant that he gives a very different account of their relationship.[130] Quite apart from his difficulties with the specifics of the new ideology of Augustus, he felt that he could not be true to his own genius if he were writing for the interests of the regime. It is no surprise that he felt that such a move would be to betray the spirit of art for art's sake that had come to typify Roman Alexandrianism, and that he charged Virgil and Horace with just such a betrayal. On the other hand, both Philitas and Callimachus had benefitted greatly from royal patronage and it did them no harm. In the end, both Virgil and Horace managed to pull off the trick of staying true to the principles of Alexandria while writing poetry that pleased the Augustan regime. Propertius' fourth book, in which he himself finally turns with uneven consistency to Augustan themes, is a tacit admission of their success. In that book, Propertius treats the *Aeneid* as an established classic, and implicitly admits that his earlier judgements completely wrong about what kinds of compromise were possible between independent thought and service to the regime and about the prospective literary success of Virgil's epic. Virgil, as we know, did manage to satisfy Augustus, the shades of Callimachus and posterity. Still, it is worth remembering that this was a difficult trick to pull off and might hardly have seemed possible at the time. It may be, as we have seen, that even Horace had his doubts. It was the difficulty of the task that made it such a point of controversy among the poets of Rome in the years after Actium.

As noted, Propertius himself changed tack in his fourth book, in which he seems in part to have conformed to the Augustan program and in which he finally renders unto Augustus a proper poetic monument. In elegy 4.6, he returns to the subject of the Temple of Palatine Apollo, but instead of an ecphrasis he gives us an aetiology. He also returns to ideas from the start of elegy 3.1: a metaphorical priesthood, the shades of Philitas and Callimachus, and imitation of the latter's *Hymn to Apollo*. He begins by evoking the paraphernalia of sacrifice while declaring himself

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[130] For opposing views of the nature of the relationship implied by the two poems that Propertius addresses to Maecenas, see Cairns 2006, 260–9 and the rebuttal by Heyworth and Morwood 2011, 103.

a priest (4.6.1). He invokes the names of Philitas and Callimachus once again, but this time they are not the objects of the cult-worship (3–4). Propertius addresses the Muse and asks her to assist him in singing of Apollo's temple. So has Propertius finally become a metaphorical priest of Roman state religion, endorsing the union of Apollo on the Palatine and Calliope on the Circus Flaminius? Opinions differ.

Here he is not a *sacerdos*, not even metaphorically, but a *vates*, a word he repeats for emphasis (4.6.1 and 10). It is uncertain how much weight we should put on that, for the Augustan poets before Ovid avoided the metaphor of being a *sacerdos* of Apollo, which would have aimed too high; the *quindecimviri* associated with the Palatine temple, in particular, were of very noble status indeed.[131] Even Horace, when recalling the public, official role he played in composing the *Carmen Saeculare*, later refers to his role in that context as a *vates* (*Odes* 4.6.44). Tibullus teases us in the first line of elegy 2.5 into thinking that he is claiming to be a metaphorical *sacerdos* of Apollo and thus erecting a metaphorical analogue of Augustus' great temple to top Horace's *monumentum*, but he is only joking. It turns out that the *sacerdos* is Messalinus, the son of his noble patron, who is becoming not a metaphorical priest but an actual *quindecimvir*.[132]

In any case, it is clear that Propertius is not speaking in elegy 4.6 as a metaphorical agent of the state; despite the very public content of the hymn, Propertius makes it clear that he is speaking in a private context: from his metaphorical grove (*luco*, 71) rather than from the temple itself. The end of the poem confirms that his celebration is in fact purely private, and the final couplet makes it seem as though the poet is very much alone at the end. It is hard to know what to make of this as "official" poetry, and interpretations have differed radically, from panegyric to parody. A less controversial avenue for characterizing the poetic program of Propertius' final book can be found in his famously disparaging reference to the rusticity of Ennius' "shaggy crown" (*hirsuta … corona*, 4.1.61). This goes back to the crown that Lucretius tells us that Ennius took back from Helicon (1.117–19). In other words, that crown could be seen as Roman booty, just like the Muses captured by his patron, Fulvius Nobilior. Even in his fourth book, Propertius continues to reject this imperialist model for Roman poetics; instead he asks Bacchus to offer him his ivy, freely.

Coda: Eumolpus as Viewer and Poet

We have thus far focussed on poetry written in a very narrow chronological window just after the building of the Portico of Philippus. This was the period when it was most topical, as poets reflected upon the meaning of Augustus' new home for

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[131] Compare Ovid's obviously unserious Propertian pastiche (*Am.* 3.8.23–4): "Am I, the pure priest of Apollo and the Muses, the one to sing an idle song at locked doors?" *ille ego Musarum purus Phoebique sacerdos ad rigidas canto carmen inane fores?*

[132] See J. F. Miller 2009, 234–47.

the Muses and the implicit demands it placed upon them. As hinted above, there
are probably more passages in Latin poetry which deal with the Muses or Helicon
where one might detect the subtle influence of this important monument. We
do not have space for a comprehensive survey of this kind, so we will conclude
instead with a brief look at a rather different text from a very different time and
genre, Petronius' *Satyrica*. In one passage of the novel, a fictional poet is inspired
to song by an image of the Trojan War in a picture gallery very much like the
Portico of Philippus, in a town very much like Pompeii. We can thus illustrate the
continuing relevance of the interaction between Trojan painting and poetry in a
later age and outside of Rome. Petronius' imaginary temple, situated as it is in a
fictional town in Campania, brings us back to the world of Pompeii in which this
book started. This is not to say that Petronius was commenting specifically on the
Pompeian portico, but we can certainly link the theme of its Trojan paintings with
Petronius' portrait of a typical Campanian town. Petronius, in the Neronian pe-
riod, continued to find relevance in the Portico of Philippus and in its provincial
variations. This helps to explain why, after the Temple of Apollo was damaged by
earthquakes, the people of Pompeii made such an effort to salvage their original
copies of the paintings of Theorus which had been placed there by Holconius Ru-
fus and his collaborators decades before, rather than redecorating it from scratch
with a different theme.

The protagonist of the *Satyrica*, Encolpius, distracted and upset by the infi-
delity of his lover, Giton, wanders into a picture-gallery (*pinacotheca*, 83.1). Un-
fortunately, the passage just before this scene is fragmentary and we do not know
if the gallery was identified as belonging to the portico of a particular deity. At the
end of the episode, the place is identified as a portico and a temple (91.1), so it
is clear that we are in a sanctuary of some kind. Here Encolpius finds pictures by
the greatest names of Greek art: Zeuxis, Protogenes, and Apelles. Encolpius claims
that they are originals (e.g. *Zeuxidos manus*, 83.1), but he is a very unreliable nar-
rator and is prone to being misinformed on matters of high culture, so we should
pause to wonder at the accuracy of this claim.[133] We might credit the presence of
a single Greek old master in an anonymous Campanian town, but the list of mas-
terpieces defies belief; such a display is only conceivable in Rome. What we must
have is a display much like the portico of Apollo in Pompeii: a collection of good
copies of works whose originals were probably on view in Rome. The subjects of
the paintings first described are all on the subject of the sexual pursuit of beautiful
boys: the eagle abducting Ganymede, Hylas entrapped by the Naiad, Apollo con-
templating the flower into which Hyacinthus has been transformed. The sense of
loss in those works reflects the state of mind of Encolpius, and he takes comfort in
the paintings, crying aloud that they show that the gods have suffered for love as

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[133] On Encolpius' and Eumolpus' lack of judgement on matters of high culture, see Slater 1990, 95,
Elsner 1993, 39 and Walsh 2009, 183–5.

he has. On the one hand, the scene of a narrator viewing a painting is integral to the genre of the ancient novel.[134] On the other hand, as Zeitlin has shown, Petronius is clearly evoking the solace that Aeneas took in the paintings in Carthage, for Encolpius similarly sees sympathy for his own suffering in the art: "It seems that even the gods are wracked by love".[135]

As we have seen, Aeneas misinterprets the subjects of several of the paintings and indeed the overall sentiment of the cycle, which is not necessarily as pro-Trojan as he imagines. This was due to his limited perspective from inside Troy and his lack of knowledge of the *Iliad*. Encolpius similarly misinterprets these paintings, but that is due to plain ignorance and self-delusion. He thinks that Jupiter has betrayed no one by abducting Ganymede, forgetting Juno, who lists this as one of her grudges against the Trojans at the start of the *Aeneid* (1.28).[136] He thinks that the nymph who abducted Hylas would have ceased if she knew that he belonged to Hercules. This is highly improbable and is contradicted by the many extended accounts of the scene in both Greek and Latin poetry. Apollonius (1.1234–72), Theocritus (13.55–72), Virgil (*Ecl.* 6.43–4) and Propertius (1.20.49–50) all agree that the nymphs ignore Hercules' raging and his crying out the boy's name, which they must have heard, following immediately upon the abduction. Encolpius implies a resurrection when Apollo turned Hyacinthus into a flower, in contrast to Ovid's tale of his tragic death and the god's sorrow at the failure of his art.[137] Thus Encolpius' ignorance of canonical, and especially hexameter, texts is as profound as Aeneas' ignorance of the *Iliad*, and far less excusable. The general conclusion Encolpius draws from the pictures is completely ridiculous: "all the lovers of Fable enjoyed Love's embraces without a rival".[138] That is the opposite of what most of the pictures demonstrate. Hercules and the nymphs were rivals for Hylas; Apollo and Zephyrus were rivals for Hyacinthus; both rivalries ended in death for the beloved boy.

The Trojan theme had already been introduced in the previous scene, when the abandoned Encolpius ran about the town armed with a sword, just like Aeneas during the sack of Troy (82).[139] The painting of Ganymede brings the Trojan context to the surface, and Encolpius' comical misreading of the paintings provides an amusing parody of Aeneas' tragic misreading of the paintings in the Temple of Juno. Petronius will have more to say in connection with Troy and Carthage. Encolpius, still in the portico, meets a man named Eumolpus, to whom he tells

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[134] For example, at the start of Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* (1.1–2); see Bartsch 1989, 40–79.

[135] "ergo amor etiam deos tangit" (83.4), aptly compared by Zeitlin 1971, 60 with Virgil's "et mentem mortalia tangunt" (*Aen.* 1.462); see also Conte 1996, 17.

[136] Connors 1998, 85; Rimell 2002, 64.

[137] "pueri umbram revocavit in florem"; cf. Ov. *Met.* 10.162–219 and see Connors 1998, 85.

[138] "omnes fabulae quoque habuerunt sine aemulo complexus" (83.5). See Panayotakis 1995, 118.

[139] See Zeitlin 1971, 59, n. 1.

the story of his heartache. From his appearance and his name, he is evidently a poet.[140] In order to comfort Encolpius, the poet tells an amusing story of one of his own amorous misadventures (85–7). While Eumolpus was the guest of a family in Pergamum, he attempted to seduce their handsome son. He put on an air of great moral superiority whenever pederasty was discussed, and was soon given responsibility for the boy. He then seduced him by promising and then delivering gifts: first a pair of doves, then a pair of fighting cocks. He then promises a much more expensive gift of a thoroughbred horse. The boy, having grown accustomed to receiving the gifts he has been promised, submits, but Eumolpus never makes good on his promise. It has long been recognized that this tale is a parody of the sack of Troy. The boy lives in Pergamum, which had become synonymous with Troy, and Eumolpus gains access to him by means of a deception involving a trick horse. In the end, however, having succeeded all too well, he finds himself worn out by the boy's enthusiasm for sex. Just like the Greeks, wrecked and scattered to the winds after sacking Troy, he finds that getting the object of his keenest desire is less satisfying than he had anticipated.[141]

The connection with the wooden horse is made explicit in the next scene. The two men are gazing at a picture of the sack of Troy, and it inspires Eumolpus to declaim a poem on that subject, in which the Trojan Horse features prominently (89). This poem has been difficult for readers to get a handle on. On the one hand, it is dull stuff compared to Eumolpus' very funny and well-told story of his seduction in Pergamum, and indeed the crowd in the portico throws stones at the poet during his recital (90.1). Encolpius threatens to do the same. So this internal audience clearly indicates that we are meant to view this poem as a terrible piece of work. On the other hand, its formal characteristics are not so disastrous. On a formal level, it seems to be competent versifying in the style of Seneca from the point of view of meter and diction.[142] On the level of mythological narrative, it is nothing more than a disappointingly repetitive rehash of the much better and much more familiar version of the same events told by Virgil's Aeneas in Dido's palace. The strange thing is that Petronius has passed up what would seem to be a prime opportunity for comedy. A dubiously metrical, error-prone and solecism-strewn re-telling of a famous passage of the *Aeneid* could be quite funny and entirely in keeping with Petronius' treatment of his protagonists. Instead we get a slightly tedious and essentially unfunny poem. Why? As Beck says: "This is the problem, identified in essence by Arrowsmith in the notes to his translation, that the poems

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[140] The name is ironic, given the poor quality of his poetry. Eumolpus was also the eponym of the hereditary family of heirophants in the Eleusinian mysteries, who, on one reconstruction, spoke the words handed down from the Muses via Orpheus; see Elsner 1993, 35 and Eur. *Rhesus* 941–5 with Rimell 2002, 68, n. 22 and A. Hardie 2002, 17.

[141] This is the inverse of the moral of the myth of Tantalus, which introduces this section of the novel.

[142] Walsh 1968, 209–10.

are neither bad enough nor so absurdly flawed as to rank as out-and-out parody or burlesque nor yet good enough to be taken as models of superior composition".[143] If the comparison with Virgil is the point of the joke, why drag in Seneca? Understanding the relationship of the *Aeneid* with the Portico of Philippus can help us to answer these questions, for Petronius is basing his parody upon the dynamic between them.

The incompetence of Eumolpus' poetic choices is evident in the way he pays no attention to the conventions of ecphrasis: there are no indications within the poem that it has any relation with a work of art.[144] Because Eumolpus' poem is such a bad, or rather useless, description of the painting, the idea that Petronius might have had in mind any particular painting(s) is usually dismissed out of hand.[145] But the location is important. Our protagonists are standing in front of a painting in a fictional temple portico which recalls Virgil's fictional temple portico which recalls the Portico of Philippus, which may have had such a painting. Is this too tenuous a connection to a real work of art? The portico of the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii suggests, surprisingly, that it is not. We know that a Campanian town very much like this fictional one had its own version of the Portico of Philippus, so Petronius knew that his audience would tend to populate his imaginary portico with real paintings which they knew from the kind of provincial context he is describing. It is unfortunate that the west side of the south wall of the Pompeian portico did not survive the eruption of Vesuvius to tell us what painting(s) of the sack of Troy might have been placed there. Of course, it cannot be true that Eumolpus' poem is literally a description of a single panel painting: there is much too much action in it for that.[146] But this impossible, imaginary painting comes to be assembled in our minds out of the fragments of other images and other texts in equal measure. As we will see, the flaw in Eumolpus' poem is precisely that it *tries* to emulate a visual aesthetic, even as it abandons the generic conventions of literary ecphrasis. The resistance to believing that there might be familiar artifacts lurking behind this ecphrasis and others in ancient literature may have been caused by an understandable reaction against the mistaken tendency among philologically-minded scholars to see visual art as easily reducible to its verbal description. This, as it happens, is the same mistake Eumolpus makes. But we will fail to perceive that Eumolpus is making this error if we deny the intertextual play between the real images and the fictional text. In every literary ecphrasis there was probably intertextual play not just with one visual object but many; we will return in the conclusion to the connection of this passage with the Laocoon sculptural group.

Another aspect of Eumolpus' poor ecphrastic technique is with respect to genre and meter. Instead of Virgil's epic hexameter, he uses dramatic trimeter. This in

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[143] R. Beck 1979, 241; likewise Slater 1990, 99.
[144] See Slater 1990, 96-7, Elsner 1993, 40 and Connors 1998, 88–9.
[145] See Slater 1990, 96, Elsner 1993, 40, and *contra*, Rimell 2002, 66–7.
[146] See Slater 1990, 96, n. 21 and Rimell 2002, 69.

itself is not a problem. The problem is that this poem is, from the point of view of the conventions of tragedy, a messenger speech.[147] A messenger speech is, by definition, delivered by someone who is not a protagonist, but a minor and inconsequential figure in the action described. This is the fundamental problem with Eumolpus' poem, as Elsner has pointed out.[148] The frame sets him up as an Aeneas viewing the pictures in Carthage. But that ecphrasis was fascinating because the paintings represented an alternative view of events in which the viewer personally had participated. When in the next book Aeneas tells the story of the sack of Troy to Dido, its vividness comes from the fact that it is an eye-witness account from a participant. Eumolpus fails to understand this, and his efforts to use the first person plural in order to identify himself with the Trojans only highlights the distance between himself and the events described.[149] This is why his version is so dull.[150] The vivid story of the Pergamene boy is a vital contrast. It is not just that "Eumolpus is a better raconteur than poet".[151] As Beck says, the prose narratives are interesting, funny and well observed, whereas the poetry is formulaic, cliched and generic.[152] But we can put a finer point on that observation. The reason the erotic story works better is because it is told from a vivid first-person perspective. We follow the stages in Eumolpus' deception, and then enjoy the surprise ending when he finds himself annoyed by the results of his own success. An apparent tale of triumph turns into a cautionary tale of the narrator's own comeuppance. The first-person perspective lends it humor and sympathy as we follow the ups and downs of Eumolpus' feelings toward the boy. This is what is lacking in his bloodless effort to identify with the Trojan point of view in his account of the sack of Troy. What makes Virgil's version of those events effective storytelling is the investment of Aeneas as narrator in his own tale, not the armature of meter, rhetoric, poetic coloring and cliché that Eumolpus deploys.

Now we can see why Petronius has fitted Eumolpus out with a technical competence in all of the superficial, formal techniques of mythological poetic composition, despite the shower of abuse and stone-throwing that greets his performance: it is to focus our attention on the fact that the badness of his writing is to be located on a more profound level. A similar purpose lies behind the juxtaposition of the other Trojan-horse tale he tells about the Pergamene boy. This demonstrates that Eumolpus does in fact possess the ability to tell vivid stories about his own experience. He has poetic technique and he is a good storyteller. The problem is that he does not put the two together. When writing verse, he reverts to the schoolroom and leaves his native narrative talents at the door. This scene thus contains not

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[147] See Connors 1998, 87.

[148] Elsner 1993, 40–1.

[149] See Elsner 1993, 41 and Slater 1990, 188.

[150] For a different view, see Rimell 2002, 67.

[151] Slater in Gagarin and Fantham 2010, vol. 5, 235, s.v. "Petronius".

[152] R. Beck 1979.

just a parody, but a critique of the bloodlessness of a certain type of mythological poetry, where the human element is removed and all that is left is rhetoric and erudition.[153] Petronius may also intend to paint Seneca with that brush, as the model that Eumolpus wrongly chooses in place of Virgil. We also see, by way of contrast, a deep appreciation of the artistry of Virgil, who succeeded where Eumolpus failed.

The failure of Eumolpus to compose a successful poem on the sack of Troy when confronted with a Trojan painting is designed as a contrast with Virgil's success. Petronius implicitly invites us to picture, by way of contrast, Virgil standing in front of a painting of the Trojan War, or particularly of the sack of Troy, and considering how to make that narrative vivid. When we see Eumolpus contemplate a Trojan painting in a temple portico and create a poem from it, we are invited to imagine Virgil contemplating the paintings of Theorus in the Portico of Philippus and creating the *Aeneid*. Virgil looked at those images and created a character to respond to them whose very personal experience makes us feel the Trojan War as something other than dry-as-dust history. Virgil has Aeneas describe the fear he and all the Trojans felt at the arrival of the snakes and the retrospective irony of the relief they felt when they departed, thinking that Laocoon had got what he deserved for desecrating the offering of the horse. Despite the second-person plurals in Eumolpus' poem, "we" do not suffer with the Trojans in his version. Eumolpus fails as a literary artist where Virgil and Petronius succeeded. He has not learned the lesson of Zeuxis and Lessing that the real power of verbal, as opposed to visual, art is to show the reactions of people to phenomena, like the Trojan elders responding to the beauty of Helen, rather than to describe those visual phenomena directly. Thus Virgil describes Aeneas' reaction to the Trojan paintings in Carthage rather than the paintings themselves. Eumolpus has not learned the first lesson of creative writing: "show, don't tell".

Eumolpus, standing in front of the Trojan painting in the temple portico, trying to decode it and to make a narrative out of it, becomes, on this perspective, a parody not only of Aeneas in Carthage, but also of Virgil in Rome, making a Roman epic out of the images in the Portico of Philippus. On Petronius' reading of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas, trying to decode and create a narrative out of the Trojan paintings in Carthage, becomes here not a stand-in for Augustus, but for Virgil, trying to make a poem out of the Homeric images displayed in the Portico of Philippus.[154] Petronius' comedic invention of Eumolpus as an anti-Virgil casts into relief the seriousness of the choices faced by the real Virgil as he stood in front of the paintings of Theorus arrayed by Augustus in the Portico of Philippus. Aeneas stood in the Temple of Juno and interpreted the representations of his past experiences as showing him to be a pitiable victim of the savage violence of

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[153] Compare the argument of Juvenal's first satire.

[154] The way Aeneas combines here the roles of poet and emperor brings into view another model for this scene: Nero's singing of the Fall of Troy while Rome burned, on which see Connors 1998, 93–99.

Achilles. He understands these pictures only dimly and his knowledge of his own future is equally obscure. He does not realize that, in order to be no longer the victim but the victor, he must become Achilles, the very thing he hates.

After Actium, while completing the *Georgics*, Virgil may well have stood in the Portico of Philippus knowing that the Homeric paintings showed not his past but his future. The paintings in the Roman portico offered Virgil the prospect of becoming a propagandist for Augustus as Ennius had been for Fulvius Nobilior. To the extent that he lent his craft to Augustus' project of fashioning a Trojan ancestry for himself and of rewriting Roman history in terms of that ancestry he did this; but at the same time he escaped the trap by following Homer in writing an epic in which human folly, selfishness, blindness and anger play at least as large a role as panegyric. In that sense, the two great ecphrases of the *Aeneid* lay out two artistic options for the poet: the shield of Aeneas is an objective, well-ordered, annalistic, year-by-year, Ennian narrative of Roman history culminating in the triumph of Augustus; the Temple of Juno is a subjective, disordered, Homeric narrative by a suffering and confused participant.[155] Writing an epic that could be interpreted in the light of both of these paradigms was Virgil's great achievement.

In appearing to take up the neo-Ennian commission embodied in the Portico of Philippus, Virgil must have known that he could be charged with becoming the very thing he had ridiculed as a younger man: the singer of "kings and battles", or in other words, "arms and a man". We are not obliged to accept without due skepticism the traditional view of Virgil's career, enshrined as the *rota Virgilii* of the Middle Ages, as a stately, inevitable and pre-planned ascent from humbler genres to heroic epic. Virgil's ultimate success in negotiating the competing demands of his patron and his literary principles has often tended to blind us to the way his career was in fact marked by a sharp u-turn. The terms in which Horace and Propertius rejected the terms of Augustus' monumental invitation belong to that short period before the success of the *Aeneid* was known and so provide us with a glimpse of the risk it entailed. The difference between Virgil, contemplating the paintings of the Trojan War in the Portico of Philippus, and Aeneas, doing likewise in the Temple of Juno in Carthage, is that the poet understood, in a way that his fictional hero did not, that the path ahead would involve turning his back on his own past.

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[155] On the strict chronological order and the annalistic nature of Aeneas' shield, see P. R. Hardie 1986, 347, Barchiesi 1999, 334, and especially Barchiesi 1997c, 276–7: "The shield of Aeneas is a substitute for an alternative epic poem, a poem which could have been Ennian, historical, written in tableaux, in sequential order, and focussed on praise".

Conclusion

We began this book by looking at the way in which Lessing used two contrasting ancient representations of characters from the Trojan War to highlight the respective limitations of visual and textual media. The *Laoccon* sculpture is handicapped by its inability to represent the sounds and words of the cry of the Trojan priest and by its inability to reconcile the true expression of pain with the demands of visual aesthetics. If the weakness of the visual arts is in its treatment of ugliness, the weakness of the verbal is in its treatment of beauty. Even the greatest poet, Homer, could give no more than an indirect sense of the beauty of Helen which Zeuxis could represent directly. Throughout this book, we have seen that Lessing uncovered the first hints of a large body of evidence that suggests that at Rome the Trojan story in particular was the locus for an intensely emulous rivalry between poets and visual artists. It is no coincidence, therefore, that Virgil and then Petronius represented the same scene as depicted in the famous sculptural group. Lessing rightly saw that Petronius' poem on the sack of Troy was doubly incompetent: it fails to describe a painting and it is an uninspired rehash of Virgil's narrative.[156] He was handicapped, however, by his failure to see that this composition must be credited to Eumolpus rather than his creator. This encapsulates a major flaw, perhaps, for a student of classical antiquity, the major flaw in Lessing's essay: that he fails to see that all of his major examples, including the *Laocoon*, Virgil's *Aeneid* and Zeuxis' *Helen*, were created in antiquity as interventions in a self-conscious discourse about the relative strengths and weaknesses of visual and verbal media which already existed in the ancient world. Lessing's analysis did not supervene upon that discourse but teased out aspects of a once-vigorous ancient discussion.

The prominence of that discussion is demonstrated by the very important role played by ecphrasis in many ancient literary genres, from epic to the novel to rhetorical set-pieces. It is not news to claim that ecphrasis is a key programatic figure of ancient thought.[157] What is more unusual is to claim that literary ecphrasis is only one side of the story. It has become routine to assert that such passages are not actually descriptive and have nothing to do with real art. If what is meant thereby is the trivial point that ecphrastic passages are more than a simple, naive account of a particular work in the real world, fair enough. Usually, however, the claim goes further and isolates the ecphrasis in an artificial world sealed off from the real language of visual iconography. Caught between the Scylla of Homer's

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[156] Note to *Laocoon*, Chapter 5: McCormick 1962, 170–5.
[157] See Bartsch 1989, 3–39.

shield of Achilles and the Charybdis of Philostratus' *Imagines*, the field has come to the conclusion that ecphrasis must always represent a purely imaginary work, untainted by associations with actual works of art. This notion is self-evidently absurd. It is the map of Lessing's world, where the visual and the textual share a militarized frontier, only to be crossed by the hapless and second-rate. It is not the real world, however. Guests arriving in the atrium of the House of the Tragic Poet did not put aside their knowledge of Homer when viewing the paintings there, nor did Virgil's original audience refuse to think about the paintings in the Portico of Philippus, which they knew well, when reading about Aeneas stumbling into a temple portico decorated with a similar theme. Virgil is not describing an actual Roman temple, but he relies upon his audience's familiarity with that monument and its ambiguities in order to undermine our faith in Aeneas' confident interpretation of the paintings.

In Pompeii, the primary model for the portico of Apollo was the Portico of Philippus in Rome, but as the years went by, it must have seemed to the townspeople as even more importantly a representation not only of the Roman monument, but of its fictional analogue, the portico of Juno in Carthage. This would help to explain why they continued to restore the portico to retain the original cycle of paintings after they were damaged by earthquakes. The increasing centrality of the *Aeneid* in Roman culture would have kept its relevance alive through the decades after the Augustan period. Let us take one example, which was considered in Chapter 4: the detail of the shield of Achilles in the painting of Thetis in the forge of Vulcan which recurs many times in domestic contexts in Pompeii. One way of thinking about it is as follows. It is a domestic visual quotation of part of a public visual cycle in Pompeii which imitated a fictional ecphrasis in Virgil's *Aeneid* which was inspired by a visual monument in Rome in which there was a cycle of Hellenistic paintings which illustrated the text of Homer's *Iliad*, which itself contained an ecphrasis of that shield. Like the shield of Homer's Ajax, this humble domestic painting is made up of seven layers. Yet the richness of this dialogue between art and text is denied by the orthodox view is that ancient ecphrasis has nothing to do with real works of art. Anyone, however, who took a stroll through the portico of Apollo in Pompeii armed with an equal knowledge of Homer and Virgil on the one hand and the visual representations of the Trojan War on the other might have been rewarded with the observation that she was walking through, on one way of looking at it, a fictional portico with real paintings in it.

If the Pompeian imitations of the painting of Thetis and Hephaestus are a reliable guide, when Theorus represented the shield of Achilles, he did not attempt to illustrate Homer's text, which would have been impossible. Instead, he represented the contents of the shield symbolically, via the signs of the Zodiac, thus rendering its content via symbols rather than via visual mimesis (see fig. 71). In this way he reasserted the fundamentally textual nature of that shield and refused, on principle, to rise to the bait of Homer's ecphrasis. Instead, he transformed it

back into a different kind of text, and showed us how to read it. That is something we might think visual art could not do very effectively, but Theorus took a lesson from Homer. The poet cannot not represent Helen's beauty visually, so instead he shows us the reaction of the old men of Troy. The painter cannot tell us how to read the shield textually, so instead he shows us the reaction of Thetis. Thetis' interest in reading the shield contrasts with Achilles' indifference to its contents in the *Iliad*. A figure in the background points at the symbols and the goddess starts in dismay. Hardie has convincingly argued that these star-signs represent Achilles' horoscope and foretell his impending death.[158] In other words, Theorus responded to Homer's ur-ecphrasis with an anti-ecphrasis: not a work of visual art inscribed within a text, but a text inscribed within a work of visual art.

Literary scholars need to recognize that ecphrasis is only one side of the ongoing dialog with visual representations, and that art does far more than meekly illustrate a master narrative provided by the text. At the same time, scholars of the visual need to stop fearing that to speak of images entering into a relationship with texts and indeed with other images is to relegate the object of their study to secondary status. Many art objects in the ancient world found their meaning by way of their intertextual relationship with canonical texts and objects. As demonstrated frequently by the Pompeian cycle which we have connected with Theorus, visual art was capable of representing literary narrative in a way which is just as playful, self-confident and self-reflective as literary ecphrasis. Ignoring this half of the dynamic not only diminishes our knowledge of ancient art; it also impoverishes our full understanding of literary ecphrasis as part of a dialog with visual art. Virgil's ecphrasis of the Temple of Juno in Carthage comments upon Theorus' visual commentary upon Homer's *Iliad*. The cycle of Theorus was given a new meaning by Augustus when it was moved to the center of Rome's literary life. Along with Zeuxis' *Helen*, it made a demand of Rome's poets. If these visual artists could rise to the challenge of Homer, why not they? To say that Virgil's ecphrasis is purely fictional misses all of this context.

A related but separate anxiety about the potential secondariness of Roman art concerns the phenomenon of copying. Two major consequences of this anxiety have been, firstly, a failure to understand the impact of Roman monuments on provincial monuments, and, secondly, the impact of local monuments on domestic interiors. These failures have made it difficult to understand the nature of the interrelationship of pictures of Trojan themes in Pompeii and how masterpieces of Greek painting came to be reinterpreted, refracted and reconstituted in Campania. It should be clear that the Romans did not usually ask for domestic copies, imitations or reinterpretations of particular masterpieces of Greek art. But images and iconography were copied from somewhere. How did this happen? The usual

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[158] See P. R. Hardie 1985, 20, who supposes a "lost literary source", but that is an unnecessary hypothesis if we interpret the shield as a contribution by the painter to the interplay between visual and symbolic mimesis.

answer has been to invoke pattern-books and such like, but there is no evidence
whatsoever that visual culture was diffused in this way. The underlying problem
with this methodology, apart from the absence of evidence, is that is presumes that
Roman artists and patrons were passive drudges who reproduced Greek culture
unthinkingly. Deviations from the pattern-book are explained away as incompe-
tence. When you go looking for stupidity, it is always easy to find; but such a
methodology may blind you to cleverness and creativity. If figural compositions
in Campanian painting were derived from pattern-books, we would expect much
more uniformity, and much less intelligence and wit, than we can find if we have
eyes to see it.

The owner of the House of Apollo knew what he was doing when he deco-
rated his garden refuge in such a way as to make it a witty allusion to a sanctuary:
he asked for copies of the art in the local Temple of Apollo. Even more thought
went on behind the creation of the atrium of the House of the Tragic Poet as
a reflection on the difference between the self-control of gods and men and on
the central role played by Thetis in the early history of the world. It alludes both
to Homer and to Theorus' cycle and presumes an equal knowledge of text and
monument. On a grander scale, the portico of the Temple of Apollo alluded to
the familiar iconography of the Portico of Philippus and equally to its fictional
reinterpretation by Virgil. It should be uncontroversial to assert that the people of
Pompeii imitated what they saw and valued in their own environment, both texts
and images. What determined the most topical images in circulation, however,
was not an art-historical perspective on the development of Greek painting. It was
the re-appropriation of masterpieces of Greek painting in the city of Rome. The
fame of a particular artist had an impact on his reception in Rome, of course, but
there were many other factors. Hence this book's conclusion, which may well be
controversial, that the most important Hellenistic painter at Pompeii, at least for
Trojan subjects, was the obscure Theorus, whom Pliny calls a second-rater. The
dissemination in Italy of images from famous Greek paintings was an accidental
by-product of their appropriation in Roman monuments.

Understanding the impact of the Portico of Philippus in Pompeii should help
to break down the prejudice that visual narratives were ideology for the masses,
while texts were for the elite. The Portico of Philippus in Rome had a very specific
message for the poets of the city, who were part of a literary elite, but it was cast
in public, architectural terms. That message may have been intended mainly for a
very narrow metropolitan audience, but it was understood even in Pompeii. When
Horace and Virgil combined the Portico of Philippus and the Temple of Palatine
Apollo into a single metaphorical structure, they evoked an Alexandrian ideal of a
unified Museum, Library and Royal Palace. When Holconius Rufus and the people
of Pompeii effected the very same conflation in their real, tangible structure, they
had a very different aim in mind: to emphasize the antiquity and centrality of their
city's association with Apollo, and to highlight the contrast with Hercules, patron

of their local rival. Nevertheless, the fact that the people of Pompeii could speak the same ideological language as the Augustan poets and manipulate its symbols in the same way suggests that there was not one language for the elite and another for the populace at large.

A final conclusion with respect to the Pompeian material is that there is still a large amount of unpublished visual material left to be exploited. In an era when news stories about Pompeii document its continuing collapse, it is all the more urgent to collect together the earliest testimony for the monuments, for the decay often set in very swiftly after excavation. The major sources of evidence are well known, and it is unlikely that the discovery of any single document will add to our knowledge at one stroke. But this book has shown that a minutely detailed collation and comparison of already well-known sources can produce a surprisingly full picture, where none of the individual documents would seem to promise much in isolation. Even though the arrangement of the Trojan cycle in the Temple of Apollo had long been written off as lost, we have been able to reconstruct most, I believe, of what was visible when the temple was first excavated in 1817. One wonders how many other public monuments in Pompeii might benefit from similar treatment. What is crucial for making progress in this direction is the digitization of hard-to-access books and archival collections. Libraries and archives which make their materials freely available on-line are not just making life easier for researchers; they are making this kind of work possible for the first time, for it would otherwise be prohibitively time-consuming and expensive.

Returning to Rome, we have suggested that it looks like more than a coincidence that the Temple of Hercules Musarum, the Temple of Juno in the *Aeneid* and the Temple of Apollo in Pompeii were all provided with porticoes having cycles of paintings depicting the Trojan War within a very short span of time, approximately from 28 BC to 10 BC. We cannot prove that the cycle of Theorus was the inspiration for both Virgil and M. Holconius Rufus, but the common features of Virgil's ecphrasis, the Pompeian portico and the *tabulae Iliacae* suggest it as the most likely inspiration. In any case, what can be shown is that the Portico of Philippus was a project of major It is true that Augustus never mentions the Portico of Philippus in his *Res Gestae*, and indeed the fact that it was built ostensibly as a triumphal monument for his stepbrother-turned-uncle suggests that he was cautious about evoking the model of the Museum of Alexandria too openly. Nevertheless, the impact of this monument on the poetry written in the decade after Actium was immense. Virgil's *Georgics*, Horace's Roman Odes and Propertius' un-Roman elegies all dramatized their relationship with the Augustan regime by evoking it. These poets also responded to each other, but it is the monument that provides the unifying theme which makes the outlines of the literary tradition clear. The metaphorical evocation of the poem-as-temple which we find in so many of these passages encompasses a full range of responses: from Virgil's acceptance of the commission for an Augustan epic, to Horace's offering of a compromise,

to Propertius' outright rejection. While there may have been political aspects to some of these responses, overtly the issues were aesthetic. Literary debates were not so much concerned with whether Augustus had restored the Republic as whether one could write a Roman epic and remain true to the Roman reinterpretation of Alexandrian criticism which had been worked out in the generation of the neoteric poets. The ghosts that haunted these debates were not Brutus and Cassius so much as Catullus and Volusius, with his "shitty" annalistic epic.[159]

The reinterpretation of Roman Republican history as a subsidiary aspect of the history of the Julian family which we find in the Forum of Augustus already existed in the Portico of Philippus, decades earlier, in a more subtle form. The construction of a unified ideology in word and image around the figure of Aeneas was already well under way. The attendant demand on the poets of Rome to produce an epic to replace Ennius' was not merely a matter of a word in their ear from Maecenas. The public *recusatio* responded to a very public request. It would be wrong to assume that the intended audience of the Portico of Philippus was very narrow, limited to the poets who assembled there; Pompeii's Temple of Apollo refutes that assumption. The poets of Rome were under pressure and all Italy could see it. The publication of the *Aeneid* showed that Virgil had heeded the public call to recast the Ennian narrative within a frame dedicated to Aeneas. The *Aeneid* followed the blueprint of the Portico of Philippus in its outer form, but if that were all it did, it would not have been such a success. The central paradox of Virgil's epic is that, on the one hand, it was apparently constructed to imperial specification, but, on the other, in order to fulfill its designated role as a truly immortal national epic to replace Ennius' and to stand as a worthy rival to Homer's, it had to be a poem which could be read in more than one way, as something more than propaganda. This is why, when Aeneas comes face-to-face with a textual, fictionalized version of the Roman monument that inspired the poem in which he finds himself, we are given a parable of the difficulties of interpreting a work of art, even, or especially, when the viewer or reader believes himself or herself to possess a key to its meaning.

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[159] Cat. 36 and 95; see Heslin 2011, 54.

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